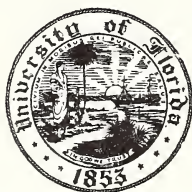


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WISCONSIN POLITICS, 1964

H. GAYLON GREENHILL

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LABOR MONEY IN  
WISCONSIN POLITICS, 1964

H. GAYLON GREENHILL

245 Nassau Street  
Princeton, N. J.

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## FOREWORD

The role of labor in politics is much discussed but there are few detailed reports of labor money in politics within a single state. This study of labor money in Wisconsin politics in 1964 complements well a previous study in the Citizens' Research Foundation publication series, in which John P. White and John R. Owens dealt with the same subject, among other matters, in a report entitled: *Parties, Group Interests and Campaign Finance: Michigan '56*.

In this report, Professor H. Gaylon Greenhill, Chairman of the Department of Political Science at Wisconsin State University at Whitewater, focuses on methods of fund raising by labor groups, dispersal of funds, selection of endorsed candidates, and roles in campaign-connected activities.

The present study is another in a new series made possible under a grant from the Ford Foundation to the Citizens' Research Foundation. Other aspects of money in politics in 1964 will be reported in other publications in this series.

The presentation and conclusions are the responsibility of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of members of the Board of Trustees of the Citizens' Research Foundation.

WILLIAM H. VANDERBILT



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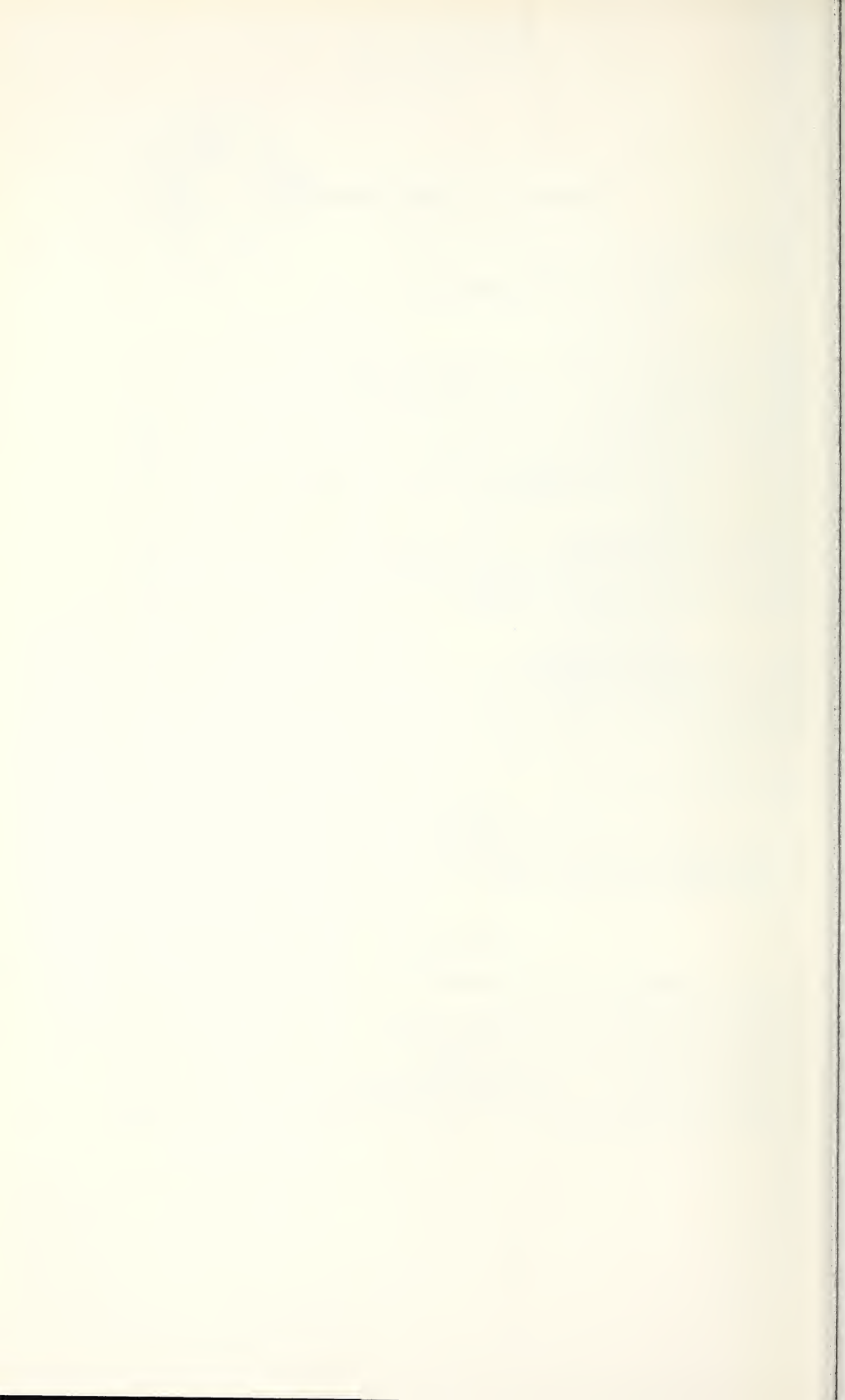
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## I. LABOR AND THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

Organized labor was drawn to active participation in the electoral process almost from its inception. Labor unions in the early 1830's participated in so-called "Labor" and "Workingmen's" parties in the latter 1800's in reform movements such as those of the Greenbacks and populists; and more recently, through political action committees. Professor Louise Overacker reports that the AFL raised \$95,000 for political purposes between 1906 and 1925.<sup>1</sup> Most of this money was spent for propaganda, postage, and speakers. In the 1920's there is evidence of labor union support of the Socialist party, the 1924 La Follette candidacy for the Presidency and, also, increasing support of the Democratic party by union leaders such as Daniel Tobin of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.<sup>2</sup> The creation of the CIO Political Action Committee (PAC) (1943) and the AFL Labor's League for Political Education (LLPE) (1947) set the stage for large scale political operations such as those presently carried on by the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE) (1956). Labor participates in politics because many of its goals can only be achieved through governmental action, entailing the election of public officials—executive, legislative, and judicial—who are favorable to the cause of labor.

The nature of labor participation in electoral politics was well stated in an edition of the *American Federationist* for August of 1908:

We now call upon the workers of our common country to Stand faithfully by our Friends, Oppose and defeat our enemies, whether they be Candidates for President, For Congress or the other offices, whether Executive, legislative, or judicial.<sup>3</sup>

This "reward your friends and punish your enemies" policy is the hallmark of union political action even today, although the advent of the PAC and later COPE have greatly broadened the scope of involvement and much changed the mechanics through the establishment of well-organized, centralized, full-time political organizations.

Although the early AFL and its leader, Samuel Gompers, expressed pleasure at the involvement of workingmen in political activity,

<sup>1</sup> Louise Overacker, *Presidential Campaign Funds* (Boston: Boston University Press, 1946), pp. 49-50.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in Mollie Ray Carroll, *Labor and Politics* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1923), p. 173.

Gompers feared that to commit the labor movement to one particular party or movement might be disastrous. Gompers felt that too close a commitment to political reform movements had greatly contributed to the demise of the Knights of Labor. His views expressed in an editorial in the *American Federationist* of February 1919 clearly echo these sentiments:

Political movements are ephemeral. The trade union movement is not alone for today. Its continued existence is too valuable to be gambled in the political arena. History demonstrates that at least two movements, predecessors of the A. F. of L. have passed into decadence because of their adventure in the field of politics.<sup>4</sup>

In the early 1900's, a number of railroad unions, the machinists, and needle trades cooperated with the socialists, farmers and progressives groups to form the Conference for Progressive Political Action.<sup>5</sup> This group was headed by William H. Johnston, President of the International Association of Machinists. Actions of this nature gave signs that portions of the labor movement were willing to forsake passive political action and become directly involved. This group supported progressive candidates for Congress and the presidential candidacy of Senator Robert La Follette in 1924. In its operations, it attempted, in a much smaller way, to do what COPE does today. The Conference for Progressive Political Action died in 1925 due to various factors: the failure to resolve difficulties in the railroad unions; the death of Senator La Follette and with him, the Progressive party; the death of Samuel Gompers; and the advent of prosperity.

Though the initial thrust into political action came in 1924, large scale direct involvement did not come until the presidential election of 1936. Labor was active in the 1936 election for at least two reasons. First, the National Labor Relations Act of 1935 had stimulated a highly successful organizational drive that greatly increased the number of organized workers in the United States labor force. Strong national unions were organized in the automobile, steel, and rubber industries, and these took the lead in political action. Second, much of labor identified its interests completely with the success or failure of President Roosevelt and the New Deal. Roosevelt was given credit for the advances that organized labor had been able to make in the proceeding four years. It has been reported that labor unions spent more than \$750,000 to boost the candidacy of Roosevelt in 1936.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 172.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph Gaer, *The First Round* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1944), p. 50.

<sup>6</sup> Joseph Tannenhaus, "Organized Labor's Political Spending: The Law and its Consequences," *Journal of Politics*, August, 1954, p. 444.

Professor Overacker writes that labor, mostly CIO affiliates, contributed \$770,000 to the campaign. The CIO unions contributing the lion's share of this total were: the United Mine Workers (\$469,000), the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (\$81,000), and the International Ladies Garment Workers (\$60,000).<sup>7</sup> Of the total, \$250,000 went directly to the Democratic National Committee; the United Mine Workers were the largest single contributor to the Democratic National Committee in that year.<sup>8</sup>

## Federal Regulation

This unprecedented involvement in the 1936 campaign set off earnest demands for the regulation of labor's political contributions and expenditures with a view to curtailing labor's role in politics. Certain newspapers, magazines, political commentators, and politicians fanned public opinion in favor of legislation that would regulate labor contributions and expenditures in elections. Legislation was soon forthcoming.

The Second Hatch Act<sup>9</sup> enacted in 1940 was the first piece of federal legislation to affect labor's role in elections. It placed labor unions under the same restrictions as other individuals and associations contributing to candidates for federal office or committees supporting them. A limit of \$3,000,000 was set on expenditures by any one committee. The Hatch Act did not impose any other restrictions on the operations of unions in politics.

The prohibition against corporate contributions enacted in the Tillman Act of 1907<sup>10</sup> and codified in the Corrupt Practices Act of 1925<sup>11</sup> was extended by the Smith-Connally Anti-Strike Act of 1943 to prohibit political contributions by labor unions.<sup>12</sup> This act made it illegal for "any labor organization to make a contribution in connection with any election at which Presidential or Vice Presidential electors or Senators or Representatives . . . to Congress are to be voted for, or

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<sup>7</sup> Overacker, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>9</sup> *United States Statutes at Large*, vol. 54, p. 767 (76th Cong., 3rd sess., Public No. 753, approved July 19, 1940).

<sup>10</sup> *United States Statutes at Large*, vol. 34, p. 864 (59th Cong., 2nd sess., Public No. 36, approved January 26, 1907).

<sup>11</sup> *United States Statutes at Large*, vol. 43, p. 1070, (68th Cong. 2nd sess., Public No. 506, Title III, approved February 28, 1925).

<sup>12</sup> This act is, also, referred to as "The War Labor Disputes Act of 1943." *United States Statutes at Large*, vol. 57, p. 163 (78th Cong., 1st sess., Public Law 89, approved June 25, 1943).

for any candidate, political committee, or person to accept or receive any contribution prohibited by this section.”<sup>13</sup>

The provisions of the Smith-Connally Act were temporary and scheduled to expire six months after the end of World War II. Unions received an assist when the Attorney General interpreted “any election” to mean “general elections” thus enabling unions to use funds from dues monies from their treasuries in primary elections, but not in general elections. Unions operated under the “rule of thumb” that it was permissible to use funds from dues monies in support of nominations, but once candidates were nominated, only voluntary funds could be used. The date of the nominating convention or primary thus became the cut-off date for the use of union treasury funds. Still, there was no federal regulation of the contributions and expenditures of unions at the state or local level although some states had adopted measures restricting labor contributions and expenditures.<sup>14</sup>

The success of Labor’s Nonpartisan League, political arm of the newly formed CIO, was largely responsible for the demands for regulation of labor’s political contributions. It was successful not only in getting votes for Roosevelt and pro-New Deal candidates, but also in lobbying for New Deal measures in Congress. But just as John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers had been a strong impetus to the success of the organization, the schisms between Lewis and other leaders ultimately brought its collapse.

After serious reverses at the polls in 1942, it became obvious to labor, especially the militant CIO, that a new vehicle of political action had to be established. On July 7, 1943, the CIO formed the Political Action Committee under the leadership of Sidney Hillman. The PAC, among other activities, launched a massive program to get the more than five million CIO members registered and to the polls. Registration of union members and their families was given an especially high priority because it was believed that failure of union people to vote contributed more than any other factor to the 1942 debacle.

The PAC had three main objectives.<sup>15</sup> First, to help win the war. Second, to help in the establishment of international peace on a lasting basis. Third, to plan for full employment with fair wages. To achieve these objectives, a national organization was set up. This national

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<sup>13</sup> *United States Statutes at Large*, vol. 57, p. 163 (78th Cong. 1st sess., Public Law 89, approved June 25, 1943).

<sup>14</sup> Pennsylvania, Texas, New Hampshire, and Indiana are listed as having restrictions on labor contributions in elections. Herbert E. Alexander, with the assistance of Laura L. Denny, *Regulation of Political Finance* (Berkeley and Princeton: Institute of Governmental Studies and Citizens’ Research Foundation, 1966), Table 3, pp. 62-63.

<sup>15</sup> Gaer, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-72.



organization was supplemented by specialized divisions for research, public relations, press, women, publications, radio, youth, and the Negro as well as a speaker's bureau.

The committee nationally was financed by contributions from international unions while local PAC committees were financed through local efforts. From the very beginning, it was the official policy of the PAC that these contributions and expenditures of the committee were to be consistent with the obligations imposed by the Smith-Connally Act. Until July 23, 1944, the date of President Roosevelt's renomination, the PAC reported spending \$371,086<sup>16</sup> to promote the "drafting of Roosevelt" for another term. After Roosevelt was renominated, the funds contributed from member union treasuries were frozen and only voluntary funds expended until after the election.

To aid in raising funds for the presidential campaign, the National Citizens Political Action Committee (NCPAC) was formed. This group consisted of progressive groups and individuals who shared the basic objectives of the CIO. While such non-union notables as George Norris, James Patton, Freda Kirchway, James M. McGill Jr., and Clark Foreman had prominent roles in the organization, the chairman and major leader was Sidney Hillman. R. J. Thomas, President of the United Automobile Workers, served as treasurer. It is reported that the NCPAC raised \$282,664 and spent \$250,900 in 1944.<sup>17</sup>

It is often assumed that in 1944 the CIO was a hotbed of political activity and the AFL was apathetic and indifferent. This is not true. However, nearly all the attacks on labor's role in politics were focused on the CIO-PAC. The AFL effort was a highly decentralized effort with each individual union or leader working separately in contrast to the centralized organization with trained staff people operated by the CIO. In both cases, the goal was the same: the reelection of President Roosevelt.

When one considers that over \$1,300,000 was contributed and spent by trade unions and their friends in the 1944 campaign, it is obvious that the Smith-Connally Act had not rendered the labor movement impotent in the realm of campaign finance.<sup>18</sup>

The election of 1946 was a great setback for the cause of labor. Almost immediately the 80th Congress set about to establish new curbs on the role of labor in politics. The Taft-Hartley Act of 1947<sup>19</sup> with its well-known Section 304 was the result. This act did three things. First, it placed the temporary restrictions on union contributions found

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 178.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 181.

<sup>18</sup> Overacker, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

<sup>19</sup> *United States Statutes at Large*, vol. 61, p. 136 (80th Cong., 1st sess., Public No. 101, approved June 23, 1947).

in the Smith-Connally Act on a permanent basis. Second, it extended the prohibition on both union and corporate spending to include "expenditures" as well as "contributions." Third, it made these restrictions applicable to primaries as well as to general elections. The act reaffirmed that union dues monies could not be used for political purposes. Therefore, when unions wished to aid candidates for federal office, these contributions and expenditures had to come from voluntary funds.

While unions fought hard to prevent the passage of this bill, their efforts were to no avail. Although the Taft-Hartley Act was directed at sharply restricting the activities of labor in politics, it probably produced the opposite result. Hillman and others recognized that if labor's interests were to be protected against hostile legislation, unions had to cooperate with each other in political activity. Out of this defeat a renewed interest in political action emerged.

In 1947, the American Federation of Labor followed the lead of its Washington State officials and created Labor's League for Political Education. For the first time, the AFL had a political action committee of its own with national, state, and local units and a full complement of specialized divisions, departments, and bureaus. Like the CIO-PAC, the LLPE maintained a nonpartisan stance endorsing only those candidates whose records were favorable to labor regardless of party label. Though the AFL and CIO maintained separate organizations, they often cooperated in working for shared objectives.

When the AFL and CIO merged in 1955, the political action groups also merged, forming the Committee on Political Education (COPE). Though the decision to merge was made in 1955, the process of merging was a gradual one not completed until 1958.

## Status of Federal Regulation

The constitutionality of restrictions imposed on labor's role in politics by Section 304<sup>20</sup> has been raised, sometimes deliberately by unions. Several cases are of particular interest in developing a better picture of what labor may or may not do in the area of political education.

Since union funds for political education were banned by the Taft-Hartley Act, unions sought to determine the nature of this ban in a test case. In a special election to fill a vacancy in a Maryland congressional district in 1947, the CIO *NEWS* carried a full-page adver-

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<sup>20</sup> Section 304 of the Taft-Hartley Act amended Section 313 of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act by extending to labor organizations the prohibitions already imposed on national banks and other corporations. These prohibitions will be cited below as Section 610 of Title 18 of the Federal Code.



tisement signed by CIO President Philip Murray urging members to vote for the Democratic candidate. This was challenged as an improper use of labor funds because the funds to pay for the advertisement had come from union assessments.<sup>21</sup> In *U. S. v. Congress of Industrial Organizations*, a majority of the U. S. Supreme Court avoided the issue of constitutionality and ruled that this case was outside the bans imposed by the act because the advertisement was in a regularly published union newspaper whose circulation was mainly to union members and not to the general public. The Court pointed out that the Taft-Hartley Act never intended to deprive unions from using dues monies to publish newspapers informing their own members of matters of concern whether political or not.

In a later case,<sup>22</sup> a union sponsored political advertisements in a commercial newspaper and over a commercial radio station. While the message was directed to union members, the media used to convey the message did not fit the "house organ" description. The Circuit Court of Appeals held that expenditures made by a small local union which publishes no newspaper of its own, for radio and newspaper advertisements opposing candidates for Federal office, where these means are the natural way for the union to communicate with members, and when expenditures are duly authorized, are, in principle the same as made by unions in the CIO case. Therefore, these expenditures are not in violation of Section 610 even though the advertisements were given circulation to the "public at large."

In *United States v. Construction and General Laborers Local Union Case*,<sup>23</sup> a union was indicted on seven counts for using union monies on behalf of the unions' president who was running for Congress in 1950. These charges involved spending union money to take voters to the polls, for union newspaper costs, and payment for time spent by local union officials doing campaign chores for the candidate. The Federal District Court dismissed the case saying ". . . it seems difficult to believe that Congress intended its definition of expenditures . . . to apply in a case of this type."<sup>24</sup>

The UAW case<sup>25</sup> of 1957 involved expenditures of money for television time advocating Democratic candidates in the state of Michigan. The UAW was indicted for having spent union treasury funds in

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<sup>21</sup> *U. S. v. Congress of Industrial Organizations*, 335 U.S. 106 (1948).

<sup>22</sup> *United States v. Painters Local Union No. 481*, 172 F. 2nd 854 (2nd Cir. 1949).

<sup>23</sup> *United States v. General Laborers Local No. 264*, 101 F. Supp. 869 (1959).

<sup>24</sup> Quoted in Bradbury Seasholes, *Labor Union Financial Participation in the 1952 Election* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: Unpublished M. A. Thesis, 1958), p. 24.

<sup>25</sup> *United States v. United Automobile Workers*, 352 U. S. 567 (1957).

violation of Section 313 of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act. The union argued that to deprive the union of this political education expenditure would be an abridgement of freedom of speech. The Federal District Judge, Frank A. Picard, agreed with the union but the case was carried to the Supreme Court. In an opinion by Justice Frankfurter reversing Judge Picard's ruling, Frankfurter said the Court did not wish to overrule its decision in the *CIO* case and called attention to the difference between the two cases. In the *CIO* case, the newspaper involved was distributed only to *CIO* members or those who would purchase an issue; whereas, in the *UAW* case the message was directed to the "public at large." To quote Justice Frankfurter, "the evil at which Congress has struck . . . is the use of corporate or union dues to influence the public at large to vote for a particular candidate or particular party."<sup>26</sup>

The Court held that the indictment alleging that the *UAW* used general funds to pay for television broadcasts supporting candidates for Federal offices was sufficient to charge violation of the Act. Such expenditures were different from those used in the publication of union newspapers for distribution to union members. Clearly, the special conditions that made permissible the expenditure of general funds in the *Painter* case did not prevail in the *UAW* case.

Further guidelines for handling the problem of general funds used for political education can be found in two recent cases.<sup>27</sup> In the *Teamsters* case, the Federal District Court held that contributions or expenditures by unions in connection with the election of federal candidates are lawful if officers of the union consent, contributions are made from funds voluntarily designated for that purpose by individual union members, there is good faith accounting of those funds, and the amount contributed does not exceed the amount of funds so designated. In *U. S. v. Anchorage Central Labor Council*, the Federal District Court held that the Joint union council did not violate the statutory prohibition against union political expenditures by sponsoring four 15 minute televised political broadcasts with payments from a fund comprised primarily of voluntary contributions made by member locals to defray cost of council's regular weekly television program. These payments were not considered to be "expenditures" as prohibited by the statute.

It is apparent from these cases that the ban on the expenditure of general funds of unions is not absolute; when unions publish "house

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<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> *United States v. Local 688, International Brotherhood of Teamsters*, 41 CCH Labor Cases 16,601; and *United States v. Anchorage Central Labor Council*, 193 F. Supp. 504 (1961).

organs" that inform their membership on matters of concern, including political matters, they are not violating the law. There are, also, conditions that may make possible the expenditure of small amounts of funds to inform members by way of public media provided this is the natural way of the union communicating to its members. The UAW case indicates there are limits to the use of public media for carrying partisan advertisements paid for by general union funds.

## State Regulation

While at the national level the organized involvement of unions in the electoral process brought restrictive legislation, no general pattern of legislation restricting labor's role in politics has emerged at the state level. Wisconsin was one of the few states that did follow the national lead and enact legislation.<sup>28</sup> The Catlin Act was enacted in 1955 by the Wisconsin legislature to restrict the use of dues money for political purposes. The Catlin Act forbade unions to contribute:

any money or thing of value, directly or indirectly, to any political party, political organization, political committee, or individual candidate for any political purposes whatsoever, or to promote or defeat the candidacy of any person for nomination or election to any political office.<sup>29</sup>

The strictness of the wording of this act would seem to make impossible any activity by unions in Wisconsin politics. The wording of the law was so stringent that it was questionable whether labor could engage in lobbying.

The proponents frankly saw this law as a means of maintaining the supremacy of the Republican party in campaign finance and hopefully, thereby in Wisconsin politics. Donald Kommers has shown the close parallel between the growth of the Democratic party in Wisconsin and the involvement of labor organizations in electoral politics.<sup>30</sup> This growing strength of the Democratic party frightened Republican leaders such as Mark Catlin, Speaker of the Assembly.

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<sup>28</sup> Seasholes, *op. cit.*, p. 25, writes that by 1952 six state legislatures had placed bans on contributions and/or direct expenditures with reference to campaigns for state office. These states were: Pennsylvania (1948), Texas (1947), Delaware (1947), Colorado (1947), Alabama (1945), and Oregon (1940). In the cases of Oregon, Colorado, and Alabama, these provisions have been invalidated by the courts. Alexander and Denny, *op. cit.*, report that four states have such provisions: Texas, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire and Indiana.

<sup>29</sup> Donald P. Kommers, *Organized Labor's Political Spending and the Catlin Act* (Madison: unpublished M.A. Thesis, 1957), pp. 122-23.

<sup>30</sup> The Kommers thesis offers one of the best accounts of the passage of the Catlin Act and labor involvement in the electoral process in Wisconsin.



Prior to 1947, the Wisconsin Democratic party was in the hands of conservatives. Professor Leon Epstein writes that when the Progressives returned to the Republican fold in 1946, "The Democratic party became more than ever a narrow group of traditionalists and national patronage seekers (southern Republican style)."<sup>31</sup> With the disbanding of the Progressive party, Wisconsin was left with a strong Republican party controlled by conservatives and a weak ineffective Democratic party, also controlled by conservatives but lacking in leadership. Many young liberals felt that it was hopeless to fight for progressive programs in the conservative-oriented Republican party and that the only hope of building a progressive party in Wisconsin was a liberal coup of the Democratic party.<sup>32</sup> To bypass the conservatives controlling the statutory Democratic party, the liberals founded a voluntary party organization called the Democratic Organizing Committee (DOC).<sup>33</sup> After the liberals triumphed in the 1948 primary elections, they remained in control of the Democratic party. John Wyngaard, Wisconsin political writer, wrote in the *Milwaukee Journal* concerning the 1948 gubernatorial primary:<sup>34</sup>

The issue between Thompson and Carroll is real deep. It involves the direction of the Wisconsin Democratic party . . . If Thompson wins, and if the young men whom he leads come into control, they will make the Democratic organization a militant pro-labor movement.

The close relationship between the DOC and organized labor is demonstrated by the fact that three prominent labor leaders served as members of the DOC state executive committee.<sup>35</sup> As the Democratic party emerged as a power in Wisconsin politics it changed the political geography of the state. The new Democratic strength was to be found in the industrialized counties (Dane, Douglas, Kenosha, Milwaukee, Sheboygan) where labor was organized. Not only did labor play an increased political role in the Democratic party but also, an increased financial role. Labor contributions were in large part responsible for bringing Democratic expenditures into a closer ratio to Republican expenditures. It is reported that the Democrats in 1944 spent only \$73,000 compared with \$420,000 for

<sup>31</sup> Leon D. Epstein, *Politics in Wisconsin* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1958), p. 44.

<sup>32</sup> Epstein, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

<sup>33</sup> A discussion of Wisconsin "voluntary" and "statutory" parties is to be found in: Frank J. Sorauf, "Extra-Legal Political Parties in Wisconsin," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 3, pp. 692-704, (September, 1954).

<sup>34</sup> *Milwaukee Journal*, June 27, 1948.

<sup>35</sup> Kommers, *op. cit.*, p. 40. The three were: Sam Rizzo, UAW, Racine; Gregory Wallig and Lester Washburn, AFL, Kenosha.

the Republicans, but in 1950 the Democrats spent \$229,000 compared with \$372,000 for the Republicans.<sup>36</sup> These figures represent an ever increasing commitment to Democratic candidates by organized labor in Wisconsin.

The increased strength of the Democratic party with its dependence upon organized labor led Speaker Catlin to author his bill restricting the use of labor money in elections. But once enacted, it became apparent to its supporters that it might drive from the G.O.P. laboring men in traditionally Republican areas such as the Fox River Valley. The law was never enforced. Thus, in Wisconsin as in the majority of the other states, labor dues are used for political purposes providing the candidates are not running for federal office where such expenditures and contributions are prohibited by federal law.

The following sections examine the criteria and process of endorsement and attempt to appraise the sources, amounts and importance of labor money in Wisconsin.

## II. LABOR ENDORSEMENT

Scholars have examined the criteria used by labor organizations in determining endorsements as well as the mechanics of arriving at such endorsements. Nicholas Masters found that incumbents had an advantage over non-incumbent challengers because decisions on endorsements are in large part determined by roll call votes on key issues.<sup>1</sup> Incumbents are clearly on record on these issues while challengers must rely on records they have compiled in lesser offices or on statements of their views. Harry Scoble has suggested that more incumbents are endorsed and given financial support because their chances of victory are better than those of challengers; in this way, labor may be able to create the impression of being a more potent political force.<sup>2</sup> Masters writes that labor is sometimes maneuvered into endorsing a candidate who is mediocre simply because the opposing candidate is closely identified with business interests or has a record considered hostile to labor.<sup>3</sup> Research has shown that labor

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 34-46.

<sup>1</sup> Nicholas A. Masters, "The Politics of Union Endorsement of Candidates in the Detroit Area," *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 149. (May, 1957).

<sup>2</sup> Harry Scoble, "Organized Labor in Electoral Politics: Some Questions for the Discipline," *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. XVI, No 3, pp. 683-684. (September, 1963).

<sup>3</sup> Masters, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-150.

increasingly restricts its financial support to those districts or states with close races where support is likely to be most decisive.<sup>4</sup>

An attempt will be made in this section to determine to what degree these conditions apply in Wisconsin. Focus is primarily on the procedures, practices, and endorsements of Wisconsin AFL-CIO COPE. Not only is COPE the major source of labor money, but its endorsements are often followed by independent labor political action committees.

The formal process of arriving at endorsements in COPE are spelled out in the Endorsements Article (Article VIII) of the Bylaws for Wisconsin State, City, County, and Congressional COPE's as revised July 1960.<sup>5</sup> The Bylaws provide that state COPE shall support honest, sincere, qualified, progressive candidates. In making endorsements, the capability, intelligence, unqualified integrity, and the past record of the individual are to be the criteria of endorsement. The Bylaws state that these standards shall be the same whether the candidate is a union member or not. Relatively few union members run for state or national office, and a disproportionate share of candidates is recruited from legal, business, and agricultural backgrounds. The machinery of endorsement differs depending upon the office the candidate is seeking. COPE's organizational structure parallels the structure of American government, with each level responsible for the endorsement of candidates for positions in government at the corresponding level.

Endorsements for President and Vice President of the United States are made, naturally, by national COPE and state COPE's are expected to follow suit.

Statewide candidates in Wisconsin are endorsed by state COPE. The endorsement process begins by state COPE notifying all statewide candidates for primary elections of the opportunity to answer certain written questions and to appear before the screening committee to state their views on issues of interest. The screening committee interviews those candidates who accept invitations and also checks the previous public records and statements of the candidates. Very few statewide candidates, whether Republican or Democratic, fail to respond to the invitation to discuss their views.<sup>6</sup> The screening

<sup>4</sup> Scoble, *op. cit.*, p. 684.

<sup>5</sup> Letter dated December 21, 1961, addressed to all city, county, and congressional district COPE committees and central bodies and signed by George Haberman, John W. Schmitt, and George W. Hall.

<sup>6</sup> The *Milwaukee Sentinel*, July 11, 1964, p. 12, Part 1 reported that COPE interviewed the following candidates: Republicans Knowles (Governor), Renk (U.S. Senate), Olson (Lt. Governor), Smith (St. Treasurer). Democrats: Reynolds and Frinzi (Governor), Proxmire (U.S. Senate), Lucey (Lt. Governor), Lucia (St. Treasurer), La Follette (Attorney General). Attorney General George Thompson, Republican, did not reply to COPE's invitation.



committee conducting these interviews consist of: a) The President, Vice President, and Secretary-Treasurer of the state AFL-CIO; b) The 16 members of the executive board of the state AFL-CIO; c) The 10 State COPE Representatives who represent the 10 congressional districts in Wisconsin; d) The Regional Director of national COPE, Charles Heineman. Committee membership totals 30, and a majority vote is necessary to endorse.

Not all labor leaders believe it necessary in all cases to go through the elaborate process of interviewing all candidates for all offices. In many instances where an incumbent has a good record, he may be endorsed solely on the basis of that record since he will almost surely be endorsed in the end anyway. Conversely, where the incumbent has a particularly bad record—in the eyes of labor—COPE has little choice but to endorse the challenger even though he may leave much to be desired as a candidate. The State Director of Wisconsin COPE, John W. Schmitt, is one of many who feels that the interviewing process is a waste of time for both the candidate and the screening committee.<sup>7</sup>

Endorsements in congressional districts are made by state COPE only after action by appropriate area COPE's and pertinent information and voting records are received from national COPE. Endorsements for the state legislature as well as county and municipal offices are made by COPE's in the area concerned.

The screening committee of state COPE met in Eagle River, Wisconsin on July 10 and 11, 1964 and made their endorsements for the September 11 primary election. COPE endorsed the two incumbent Democratic officials (Governor Reynolds and Senator Proxmire) running for reelection and three Democrats (Patrick Lucey, Bronson La Follette, and Floyd Lucia) seeking a chance to dislodge Republican incumbents in the offices of Lt. Governor, Attorney General, and State Treasurer respectively. No endorsement was made in the Secretary of State contest. Secretary of State Robert C. Zimmerman had been consistently the top Republican vote-getter in Wisconsin. Moreover, his record concerning labor had been at worst neutral, if not in fact favorable. However, there seem to be several reasons for the policy with regard to the Secretary of State. Republican statewide candidates in Wisconsin are almost invariably too conservative to gain labor support. This creates a situation in which COPE finds itself supporting only Democrats for statewide races and thus open to the charge of being merely an extension of the Democratic Party. The maintenance of a nonpartisan image is important to COPE. By making no endorsement for Secretary of State, COPE sought at least partial protection against the charge of automatically endorsing all Democrats. Another

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<sup>7</sup> Expressed to author in interview January 20, 1965.

possible reason for non-endorsement in the Secretary of State's race is that Zimmerman has not enforced the corrupt practices act against COPE either at the state or local levels.

Four of the five endorsed candidates were successful in the September primary. The fifth (Floyd Lucia) represents a special case. His endorsement was more a repudiation of his primary opponent (former state treasurer, Eugene M. Lamb), who had an alleged record of anti-union activities, than a positive endorsement of Lucia's candidacy even though Lucia was an officer of a labor union. His endorsement did not attract much financial or organizational support, undoubtedly reflecting labor's lack of commitment to his candidacy.

Primary endorsements were made in nine of the ten congressional districts with eight Democrats and a lone Republican being favored. The Republican, Representative Alvin E. O'Konski, is a maverick Republican with a liberal voting record that appeals to labor in the predominantly Democratic Tenth District. This district, once a citadel of La Follette progressivism, has never been receptive to conservative Republican politics. Four of the nine endorsed candidates were incumbents (Kastenmeier, Zablocki, Reuss, and O'Konski) and five were challengers. The five challengers (Stalbaum, Ristow, Martin, Tachowsky, and Buckley) faced incumbents whose records were deemed hostile to the interests of labor.<sup>8</sup> All of the endorsed candidates save Frank Tachowsky won their respective nominations although only Tachowsky, Stalbaum, and Buckley faced serious primary competition.

In the general election, labor continued to support Reynolds, Lucey, La Follette, and Proxmire. No candidates were endorsed for the races of Secretary of State or State Treasurer. In the congressional races, COPE endorsed John A. Race, Democratic nominee in the Sixth District, and Cletus Johnson, Democratic nominee in the Eighth District and victor over Tachowsky, in addition to the eight candidates endorsed in the primary who were successful in winning their party's nomination. This meant labor was supporting four statewide candidates (all Democrats) and nine Democrats and one Republican for Congress.

As in Lucia's case in the primary, endorsement by COPE does not necessarily carry with it major financial help. Although Lucia was endorsed, he received only \$500 to finance his campaign. With funds clearly insufficient to carry on a statewide campaign (\$895), the labor endorsement of Lucia had value only in publicity terms and as

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<sup>8</sup> Republican incumbents were: Schadeberg, Thomson, Laird, Byrnes, Davis. Davis is considered as an incumbent because he was running in a newly created district carved out of the old Second District that he had represented for many years.

a repudiation of Eugene Lamb. The magnitude of the financial commitment, if indeed there is one, depends upon various factors: the importance of the contest, the financial resources already available to the candidate, and the prospect of success for the endorsed candidate. John Schmitt has described colorfully COPE's policy of giving priority to certain races as "putting the money where the flowers are." Except for token support for candidates running against incumbents with unfavorable records, COPE concentrates its limited resources where it is likely to result in the election or re-election of friends of labor.

In Wisconsin, incumbent representatives with favorable records are almost invariably endorsed but not necessarily supported financially. Again the prime consideration is whether or not the incumbent is in danger of defeat. Labor automatically endorses Zablocki and Reuss but spends little money because their districts are regarded as "safe" for the incumbents; whereas, labor concentrates financial support behind incumbents such as Kastenmeier who appear vulnerable and non-incumbent challengers whose prospects of winning seem excellent. COPE officials report that they receive complaints from Zablocki and Reuss to the effect that their records are at least as consistently pro-labor as those incumbents who receive major financial aid. Labor's position is that it must use its funds to maximize the number of pro-labor officials elected and minimize the number of foes. Giving equal amounts of financial help to all candidates regardless of the political complexion of their district would not produce this result.

As would be expected, the U. S. Senate and gubernatorial contests drew highest priority from labor among the statewide contests. The contest for Attorney General sparked more than usual interest in 1964 due to the attractive candidacy of Bronson La Follette and the unpopularity of the incumbent Attorney General, George Thompson. Among the congressional district contests the First District rated the highest priority with emphasis also on the Second, Sixth, Ninth, and Tenth. Other endorsed candidates received much smaller amounts of financial aid, but even these will be seen to have constituted substantial portions of their campaign funds.

## The Case of the First Congressional District

Because the First District drew highest priority by labor among the congressional races in Wisconsin in 1964, it merits a closer look. The First District of Wisconsin covers the urbanized counties of Kenosha and Racine with their considerable union strength and the semi-rural counties of Rock and Walworth. For the last decade, the First District has been marginal with the Republicans winning four



times and the Democrats once, in 1958. The 1964 election saw Henry C. Schadeberg, the Republican incumbent, facing angry opposition from labor political action groups in the state and district. Mr. Schadeberg, a militant conservative, was listed by the *Official AFL-CIO COPE Voting Record for Wisconsin* as having voted twice in the interest of labor and twenty times in opposition during the 88th Congress.

Former Democratic Representative Gerald T. Flynn was defeated by Schadeberg in 1960 and 1962 and was more than eager for another opportunity to attempt to regain a seat in Congress. Flynn's record as a Congressman was unreservedly pro-labor. Had it not been for a strong conviction held by many that Flynn could not possibly win a general election battle with Schadeberg, there would have been little doubt of his endorsement by labor. His opponent for the Democratic nomination was State Senator Lynn E. Stalbaum of Racine, a "moderate liberal" by his own classification. Stalbaum's voting record in the state senate was not nearly as pro-labor as Flynn's voting record had been in the House of Representatives. But the key issue was the defeat of Schadeberg. Stalbaum, a hard-working candidate with a distinguished record in the state senate and attractive to more than labor and hard-core Democratic elements, appeared to be the logical candidate.

The officers and executive board of the First District COPE met at Lake Geneva on October 18, 1963, and recommended to the state COPE the endorsement of Lynn Stalbaum for Congress. Certain delegates from Rock and Kenosha counties supported Flynn's candidacy but Stalbaum's endorsement received well over the necessary two-thirds vote. Several factors led to undercurrents of discontent concerning the endorsement. First, there were union members who had supported Flynn enthusiastically in the past and felt that labor should continue to support him on the basis of his pro-labor record both as a state senator and as a Member of Congress. Second, some union members were completely in support of the practice of COPE endorsing the better of the two candidates for the general election but opposed intervention in the nominating process. This intervention was viewed as an effort to gain control of the First District Democratic Party.

Flynn hit hard on the theme of labor control of the Democratic party, charging that Stalbaum had almost unlimited financial support from labor in the primary. In a letter bearing the heading "With Flynn for Congress" and sent to all Democrats in the First District, Flynn defended his voting record and claimed that two labor leaders from Racine sought to compromise him and force him to make com-

mitments to them.<sup>9</sup> The letter continued that labor was attempting through COPE to take over the First District Democratic Party. In a later letter addressed to Gene Weil of Racine, Flynn wrote:<sup>10</sup>

A handful of labor leaders are attempting to dominate the labor movement. They want to own a congressman and to control the congressional office. I was as fair to labor and as considerate of them as anybody could be. The great majority of labor was fine. A few bosses have felt I should be submissive to them and I refused. I refer to Ben Schwartz and Sam Rizzo. They set out to do all the harm they could and now they succeeded in capturing Stalbaum as their stooge. They are committed to paying all his expenses. This is approximately \$15,000 in the primary and that much more if nominated. No man can take that kind of money, and represent all people equally. He will have to dance to the tune the labor bosses choose to play.

When one considers the degree of labor financial support Flynn enjoyed in his previous campaigns, it is ironic that the major theme of his campaign could be that labor endorsement and financial support had made Stalbaum a "captive." In 1962, Flynn's effort to regain his seat received high priority status from Wisconsin labor: 60 percent of the more than \$17,000 reported to have been spent in support of the Flynn candidacy is directly attributed to labor political action committees.<sup>11</sup> One source reports that closer to \$29,000 of labor money was actually spent in Flynn's behalf.<sup>12</sup> Herbert E. Alexander reported that Flynn received \$5,600 from national sources in 1960 of which \$4,000 came from labor.<sup>13</sup>

Flynn's statements were to be recalled by the Republicans in the closing days of the general election campaign in an effort to discredit Stalbaum. The Weil letter was published on the editorial page of the *Janesville Gazette* of October 26, 1964 and showed that the letter had originally been written October 30, 1963. The *Walworth County News American*, a handout newspaper published by the Schadeberg for Congress Committee, on the other hand, reprinted the letter without showing the date on which it was written. This was circulated

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<sup>9</sup> *With Flynn for Congress*. Undated letters sent to all First District Democrats along with Flynn nomination papers.

<sup>10</sup> Letter to Gene Weil of Racine dated October 30, 1963 and published in *Janesville Gazette*, October 26, 1964.

<sup>11</sup> Compiled from financial statements of Gerald T. Flynn and committees supporting the candidacy of Gerald T. Flynn for Congress filed with the Secretary of State of Wisconsin.

<sup>12</sup> Based on interview with Milford Munns, then Secretary-Treasurer of First Congressional District COPE.

<sup>13</sup> Herbert E. Alexander, *Financing the 1960 Election* (Princeton: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1962). p. 49.

house-to-house immediately before the election, seeming to indicate that Flynn was still attacking Stalbaum, when in fact he was making appearances in support of the Stalbaum candidacy.

The charges against Stalbaum in the primary were used by the Republicans in the general election; they undoubtedly hurt Stalbaum but did not prevent his victory. Labor's contention that Stalbaum was the only man who could defeat Schadeberg was at least partially vindicated even through the magnitude of the Democratic victory under President Johnson led some to speculate that any Democratic candidate would have won.

### III. EXPENDITURES BY LABOR IN THE 1964 CAMPAIGN

In their study of the 1956 election in Michigan, White and Owens report that the Michigan Political Action Committee adopted a resolution in 1948 urging their members to become active at all levels of the Democratic party of that state to make it into a progressive party subscribing to the same views as the CIO.<sup>1</sup> There has been no comparable action on the part of organized labor in Wisconsin even though organized labor has been a strong and effective force in rebuilding the Democratic party of Wisconsin into a vehicle for liberalism since 1947. Organized labor in Wisconsin and its political action committees prefer to continue to maintain their "non-partisan" stance. Presumably, at least, they have not written off the Republican party as a "hopeless cause" as White and Owens report that Michigan labor did.

An effort will be made to catalogue the amount of labor money spent in Wisconsin for the 1964 election for statewide and congressional contests, and then, to evaluate the significance of these contributions and expenditures. It is necessary to restrict the scope of this study to statewide and congressional contests because only reports for these offices are available in the Secretary of State's files, whereas reports for candidates for lesser offices are in each county court house. First, we will examine financial reports filed by the political parties, candidates, and committees supporting the various candidates to determine the scope of labor's financial role in Wisconsin politics. Second, we will attempt to determine the amount of

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<sup>1</sup> John P. White and John R. Owens, *Parties, Group Interests and Campaign Finances: Michigan '56* (Princeton, New Jersey: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1960), pp. 20-21.



labor's direct expenditures. Direct expenditures are monies not contributed to candidates or committees but spent directly by labor unions for political purposes.

Complete and accurate reports of campaign finance are always difficult to obtain because of ambiguous wording of corrupt practices laws, archaic limits imposed on campaign spending, prohibitions against certain types of contributions (such as union dues being used for political purposes in federal elections), and a general reluctance on the part of politicians and labor leaders to disclose information concerning the financing of campaigns. Wisconsin Election Laws, however, do require that every contribution of \$5 or more whether in money, service or other form of value be reported regardless of its source.<sup>2</sup> Further, every disbursement of \$5 or more for political purposes whether made by the candidate himself or committees supporting his candidacy is required to be reported.<sup>3</sup> These reports, filed with the Secretary of State of Wisconsin and, in the case of federal officers, the reports filed with the Clerk of the United States House of Representatives are helpful in determining the amount of labor money contributed to parties, candidates and political committees. Difficulties arise, however, when one seeks to determine the amount of direct expenditures by labor unions for political purposes. As White and Owens reported in Michigan,<sup>4</sup> labor organizations, even though engaged in making political expenditures, do not consider themselves "political" committees and, therefore, need not file campaign finance reports. The Secretary of State's office has thus far accepted this interpretation of the law and has not attempted to force the filing of a report other than through the sending of routine letters notifying political committees of filing deadlines. Neither the state COPE nor the First Congressional District COPE chose to file reports on their activities in the 1964 election although both of these organizations have filed reports in the past. Accordingly, one must depend on interviews with labor leaders and other indirect means to determine the amount of direct contributions by labor unions.

Appendices A-G list labor contributions in the 1964 election to candidates and committees. Labor contributions to these committees totalled \$228,822. The Democrats received the lion's share of these contributions—nearly 93 percent—with only slightly more than 7 percent received by Republicans. The results would have been even more overwhelmingly in favor of the Democrats had not labor con-

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<sup>2</sup> *Election Laws of Wisconsin of 1961* (Madison, Wisconsin: Secretary of State, 1962), p. 158. The citation of this section is 12.09 Corrupt Practices.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> White & Owens, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

tributed so significantly to the reelection of Representative O'Konski (R-10). Labor contributions for legislative, county, local, or non-partisan offices are not included here but will be mentioned later.

Of greater significance than the total number of labor dollars contributed is the relative importance of these contributions. Labor money constituted 21 percent of reported campaign receipts of the Wisconsin Democratic party and the statewide (Governor, Lt. Governor, Attorney General, State Treasurer, United States Senator) Democratic candidates. This is more than twice the 10.3 percent that White and Owens reported for similar contests in Michigan in 1956.<sup>5</sup> One reason for the much greater dependence of the Wisconsin Democratic party and its statewide candidates upon labor funds than the Michigan Democratic party and its statewide candidates would appear to be the differing patterns of distribution of labor money in the two states. In Michigan, 20.2 percent of all labor funds were spent on state legislative candidates.<sup>6</sup> Wisconsin labor has concentrated its resources on key statewide and congressional contests and neglected the state legislative candidates, though there are indications that this attitude will be changed in the future for the same reason as suggested by White and Owens: a conservative-dominated legislature can veto a liberal Governor's pro-labor program.<sup>7</sup> The State Director of Wisconsin COPE indicates that \$6,000-\$7,000 was spent by his organization on behalf of state legislative candidates in 1964.<sup>8</sup> This was parcelled out in amounts of \$100-\$250 to candidates in districts where pro-labor candidates had good prospects of winning. Recently John Schmitt has been quoted as favoring greater labor efforts on behalf of state legislative candidates in 1966: "there are important state senate and assembly races next year and we are going to concentrate on them more than we have in the past."<sup>9</sup>

Certainly the relative financial position of the two parties has a great bearing upon statewide contests. Immediately after the November election, the Democratic State Committee reported receipts of \$121,308 and expenditures and debts totalling \$211,274, whereas the Republican State Committee reported receipts of \$401,710 and expenditures of \$312,353.<sup>10</sup> While no labor contributions were reported by

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Interview with John W. Schmitt, Director of Wisconsin COPE, January 21, 1965.

<sup>9</sup> *Milwaukee Sentinel*, December 20, 1965, Part 1, p. 5.

<sup>10</sup> The statistics on reported receipts and expenditures of candidates and committees are compiled from the reports candidates and committees are required to file with the Secretary of State. It must be remembered that these statistics represent *reported* money, and not necessarily *all* money.

the Republicans, the Democrats reported receiving \$47,650 of its total from labor. However, in view of the large indebtedness reported by the Democrats, it was necessary to look at the post-election contributions that would eliminate this deficit. Thus Appendix A shows additional labor contributions in 1965 that raise labor contributions to the Wisconsin Democratic party to \$55,370, or 26 percent of 1964 expenditures plus deficit.

The \$55,370 figure is a minimal figure due to two factors: 1) Unions sometimes purchase advertisements in program books of Democratic Jefferson-Jackson and other dinners. 2) Unions sometimes purchase tickets to dinners sponsored by the Democratic party and distribute them to members desiring to attend. However, it is doubtful that substantial amounts of labor money are raised by selling high-priced (\$50 or \$100) dinner tickets. John W. Schmitt, State Director of COPE, and other prominent labor leaders are clearly on record as opposing such dinners as a means of raising funds for political campaigns.<sup>11</sup> Labor leaders oppose these dinners on grounds that \$50 or \$100 is too much to expect a laboring man to pay to attend a dinner or to contribute to a candidate or party. Even if a local union were to purchase tickets to such a dinner, the limited number of members who could attend would make it a highly undemocratic practice. Mr. Schmitt also has been critical of the way the Democratic party has spent the receipts of such dinners. He feels that the tendency has been to concentrate this money in support of several of the candidates for highest office (notably Governor and United States Senator) and to neglect congressional, state legislative, and local contests.<sup>12</sup> Labor, he feels, can best accomplish its purposes of electing its friends at all levels of government by retaining control of the division of its political funds. This can be done by making contributions to candidates or committees to pay for specific bills but cannot be done when funds are contributed to a fund-raising event.

In Wisconsin, Republican county organizations are far better financed than their Democratic counterparts, and thus in a far better position to spend money on local newspapers, radio, and television advertising for non-county candidates. Outside the industrial counties of Milwaukee, Dane, Kenosha, Racine, Sheboygan, Eau Claire, and Douglas there are few Democratic county organizations reporting significant fund raising beyond the county share of the \$2 annual Wisconsin Democratic party membership. Even in these Democratic

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<sup>11</sup> Interview with John W. Schmitt, Director of Wisconsin COPE, January 21, 1965.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*



centers the Democratic party is not able to match the Republican Party financially.

## Campaigns for the U.S Senate

The senatorial contest between incumbent Democratic Senator William Proxmire and Republican Wilbur Renk, a Sun Prairie farmer and former President of the University of Wisconsin Board of Regents, featured the largest amount of labor money of all contests in 1964. Senator Proxmire was endorsed by labor in both the primary and general elections.

Committees supporting the reelection of Proxmire reported receiving \$209,096 and spending \$207,066, with \$51,390 or about 25 percent coming from labor sources. Renk reported receiving \$227,480 and spending \$271,480. Even with the substantial financial support Proxmire received from labor sources, he was the financial underdog. In addition, as mentioned earlier, the Republican candidates have the advantage of better financed county party units and also have the help of ad hoc business and professional associations. One, the Political Education and Action League (PEAL), spent \$1,478 for newspaper and television time supporting the candidacies of Knowles and Renk particularly, and to a lesser extent, the three GOP congressional nominees in the greater Milwaukee area (Davis, Estkowski, and Taylor). The Medical Association's Wisconsin Professional Political Action Committee (WISPAC) spent \$43,058 during the last campaign, of which \$2,000 was contributed directly to the Republican party of Wisconsin. Most was contributed to specific candidates, all of whom, excepting one, were Republicans; the lone Democratic candidate was State Senator Fred Risser of Madison. Since Senator Risser is a liberal Democrat, the only reason for supporting him appeared to be that his opponent was a chiropractor. The Republicans receiving WISPAC contributions and the amounts of these contributions are as follows: Wilbur Renk \$4,000; Henry Schadeberg \$3,000; Glenn Davis \$3,000; Alvin O'Konski \$1,000; Carl Kolata \$1,000; and Vernon Thomson \$1,000.

A closer examination of the more than \$51,000 of labor money contributed to Senator Proxmire reveals that nearly 38 percent of these funds came from union committees bearing out-of-state addresses. The fact that a union committee has an out-of-state address does not necessarily mean, however, that these funds did not originate in the state of Wisconsin. Some unions follow a practice of sending all political monies raised to the International headquarters of the union, which then returns the state and local share for support of endorsed candidates in that state.

## The Gubernatorial Contest

Of all the 1964 statewide contests, the one for governor between incumbent Democratic Governor John W. Reynolds and Republican challenger Warren P. Knowles probably sparked labor's greatest interest though not its heaviest contributions. In both his primary battle with Dominic Frinzi and the general election campaign against Knowles, Reynolds had virtually complete support of the participating labor committees. Rumors that Dominic Frinzi had some support among the Teamsters have not been substantiated, but Knowles did receive \$1,000 from Greater Milwaukee Teamsters DRIVE headed by Frank Ranney. Mr. Ranney was the only Wisconsin labor leader of note openly supporting the candidacy of Knowles and since Knowles' election has been called upon by the Governor for advice.

Reynolds' committees reported receiving \$190,695 and disbursing \$193,762 as compared with Knowles receipts of \$212,887 and disbursements of \$246,444. Knowles received only \$1,000 from DRIVE; whereas Reynolds received \$34,944 or 18 percent of his campaign funds from labor. Approximately 36 percent of the Reynolds labor money, or \$12,450, came from out-of-state committees while 65 percent came from committees headquartered in Wisconsin.

It is possible that the total reported contributions and expenditures in the gubernatorial and other statewide races would be greater if all committees filed their reports with the Secretary of State as required by law. Some local committees neglect to file, and others, for example, the Walworth County Reynolds for Governor Committee, erroneously filed with the County Clerk. This committee reported receiving and spending \$245. If instances like this occurred with any frequency in the 72 counties of the state, a substantial amount of expenditures would not be accounted for at the state level.

## Campaigns for Attorney General

Labor became alert to the importance of the office of Attorney General in state government during the two years, 1963-65, when Republican George Thompson occupied that office. Thompson seemed to labor to use the power of his office to block every action supported by Governor Reynolds and labor. Labor leaders made no secret of their unhappiness and were very happy to endorse a young attractive opponent with the magic name of La Follette. Bronson La Follette not only received labor support in his primary campaign against William Evans, but appeared to concentrate his public appearances of the campaign before labor groups.

Four committees supporting the candidacy of La Follette reported receiving \$35,732 and spending \$36,771. Incumbent Republican Thompson reported receiving \$3,919 and spending \$3,358. This is a small amount considering the amount of television time purchased in his behalf and probably indicates the importance that the Republican state and local party units play in financing a Republican candidate's campaign. La Follette received \$5,718 in labor funds while no labor funds were given to Thompson. All labor monies contributed to La Follette were from Wisconsin committees. Labor money constituted approximately 16 percent of his total campaign funds. La Follette reported \$1,600 from contributions of \$500 or more; Thompson reported none.

### The Lieutenant Governor

The Lieutenant Governorship has not been a steppingstone to the Governorship in Wisconsin nor a very important office in state administration. However, Jack Olson, a Republican elected with Democrat Reynolds in 1962, used the office to good advantage to build a statewide following. He announced his intention to challenge Governor Reynolds, but when the leadership of the Republican Party decided to support Warren P. Knowles, Olson withdrew and ran for reelection as Lieutenant Governor. Olson's incessant attacks against Governor Reynolds probably strengthened the resolve of Democrats and labor alike to make him a prime target for defeat. Patrick J. Lucey, a former Democratic Party state chairman and successful business man, won labor's endorsement and was unopposed for the Democratic nomination.

Committees backing Lucey reported receiving \$37,260 and spending \$41,519 while committees backing Olson reported receiving \$41,019 and spending \$39,373. Olson received no labor funds and Lucey only \$575. The fact that Lucey had personal wealth and was able to raise funds from other sources undoubtedly explains the small labor commitment. Lucey received \$6,000 in large contributions (\$500 or more): \$3,000 from Gregory Lucey, father of the candidate; and \$1,000 from Robert F. Kennedy of New York.

### Other Statewide Campaigns

In the remaining two statewide contests decided in the November election—Secretary of State and State Treasurer—there was little campaign activity and almost no labor money expended. No endorsement was made in either the primary or general elections for Secretary of State and only token primary endorsement (Floyd Lucia) in the



Democratic primary for State Treasurer. It is not clear whether the fact that Lucia is a labor union official or displeasure with former State Treasurer Eugene Lamb was the strongest motivating force in this endorsement.

In the absence of labor endorsement, no labor funds were reported by either the Republican or Democratic candidates for Secretary of State or State Treasurer in the general election. The two Democratic nominees involved (Theodore Griswold and Eugene Lamb) spent approximately \$700 each, Secretary of State Robert Zimmerman received and spent approximately \$2,000, State Treasurer Dena Smith reported receiving \$573 and spending \$567.

The meager amounts spent by the Democratic challengers indicates clearly the difficulties of candidates running for offices that have not become major targets of the Democratic party and/or labor. The Democratic party, faced with financial disadvantages in Wisconsin, has had to concentrate its resources on a few crucial races and almost completely neglect the rest of the ticket. Even though Wisconsin employs the party-column ballot which greatly facilitates straight-ticket voting, Wisconsin has a tradition of independent, maverick politics that leads to extensive ticket-splitting. It appears that the Democrats were satisfied in having names on the ballot for these offices and men who even if they did not contribute positively to the campaign did not embarrass the rest of the ticket, as had been the case in 1962 when financial irregularities in a cemetery business managed by the Democratic candidate for State Treasurer were alleged on the eve of election. Republican candidates Zimmerman and Smith were free to conduct a "low key" campaign with little or no use of mass media but relied heavily upon personal appearances and efforts of the Republican state and local party units campaigning for support of the entire ticket.

## Congress

Nine Democrats and one Republican had labor endorsement in the 1964 general election for Wisconsin's ten seats in the U. S. House of Representatives. As stated earlier, they were incumbent Representatives: Kastenmeier (Democrat, 2nd); Zablocki (Democrat, 4th) Reuss (Democrat, 5th); O'Konski (Republican, 10th); and Democratic challengers: Stalbaum (1st); Ristow (3rd); Race (6th); Martin (7th); and Johnson (8th). Democrat Buckley ran in a newly created district.

Table 1 shows the total reported receipts of labor-endorsed candidates for Congress, the amounts of labor money received and the percentage that labor money constituted of total receipts.

Labor money was highly significant in all ten congressional contests in 1964. Democratic congressional candidates far out-paced their Republican counterparts in garnering labor money. Slightly more than 76 percent of the more than \$61,000 of labor money contributed to Wisconsin congressional candidates in 1964 went to Democrats. Representative Alvin O'Konski received the only substantial labor contribution going to a Republican. Representative William Van Pelt (Republican, 6th) received a \$500 contribution from the Seafarers Political Action Department of Brooklyn, New York. William Van Pelt was before his defeat the ranking minority member of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, probably explaining the contribution from the Seafarers.

*First District.* As expected, the largest contributions to congressional candidates were concentrated in districts where the chances of electing pro-labor candidates were the greatest. The largest contribution was made in the First District where a strong challenger was given an excellent chance of defeating an ultra-conservative incumbent. The First District is known for its active unions, particularly UAW local 72 at American Motors in Kenosha. Lynn Stalbaum and committees supporting him reported receiving \$26,490 and spending \$24,374, of which, \$18,008 or slightly more than 68 percent came from labor sources. Included in the above total of receipts are the following contributions: \$750 from Wisconsin Democratic party, \$4,000 from Democratic National Committee, and \$750 from the Democratic Study Group. Representative Schadeberg and committees supporting his candidacy reported receiving \$37,216 and spending \$37,982, none of which came from labor sources. The First District COPE did not file a financial statement in 1964 but reported spending \$4,908 in 1962 in support of Gerald Flynn.<sup>13</sup> Assuming that COPE spent as much—it is likely it spent more—in 1964 as it did in 1962, the Stalbaum labor money would exceed \$22,500 and total expenditures would be between \$29-30,000. This figure would still be less than the nearly \$38,000 Schadeberg reportedly spent.

The greater importance of state and local Republican party units than their Democratic counterparts in financing the campaigns of congressional candidates is readily apparent in the First District. Stalbaum received only one \$300 contribution from the Rock County Democratic party, \$750 from the Wisconsin Democratic party and \$160 from earmarked sales of Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner tickets. Schadeberg, on the other hand, received \$250 from Wisconsin Republican Party and \$12,895 from the four county Republican organiza-

<sup>13</sup> First Congressional District COPE financial statements filed with Secretary of State, 1962.

tions in his district. He also received \$3,000 from WISPAC, \$750 from Business-Industry Political Action Committee (BIPAC) and \$1,500 from the Republican Congressional Boosters Club.

TABLE 1

LABOR-SUPPORTED CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES AND LABOR MONEY

	Reported Receipts	Labor Contributions	Labor Portion of Receipts
Stalbaum (D, 1st)	\$26,490	\$18,008	68%
Kastenmeier (D, 2nd)	26,905	9,644	36
Ristow (D, 3rd)	10,340	3,800	37
Zablocki (D, 4th)	5,251	1,350	26
Reuss (D, 5th)	11,518	1,698	15
Race (D, 6th)	5,143	2,386	46
Van Pelt (R, 6th)	12,421	500	4
Martin (D, 7th)	7,240	3,795	52
Tachovsky (D, 8th)	895	500 <sup>1</sup>	56
Johnson (D, 8th)	3,392	2,392	71
Buckley (D, 9th)	20,507	4,801	23
O'Konski (R, 10th)	27,044 <sup>2</sup>	13,950	52
Total	<hr/> \$157,246	<hr/> \$62,824	

*Second and Tenth Districts.* The next largest amounts of labor money were contributed to the reelection of two incumbent Congressmen who had pro-labor records and faced determined opponents.

<sup>1</sup> Frank Tachovsky was endorsed in the primary but defeated. Labor endorsed the winner of the primary, Cletus Johnson, in the general election.

<sup>2</sup> O'Konski committees did not report with the Secretary of State all money reported in Washington, D.C. as being disbursed to his campaign. Totals are adjusted to reflect all money reported to be disbursed to his campaign.

Representative Robert Kastenmeier, a liberal Democrat, engenders a special opposition among the conservative Republicans of his district who sought to take advantage of a reapportionment that added conservative Republican Green county. Labor contributions were designed to thwart any possibility of success of this move.

The \$9,644 of labor money contributed to Kastenmeier committees constituted 36 percent of his total campaign resources. Kastenmeier reported receiving \$26,905 and spending \$26,870. These receipts include: \$5,389 from Kastenmeier Testimonial Dinner, \$1,000 from District of Columbia Kastenmeier Committee, \$1,000 from the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, and \$1,280 from the Dane County Democratic party. His Republican opponent received no labor funds and reported receiving \$20,563 and spending \$20,440. Carl Kolata reported receiving \$10,346 from the Dane, Jefferson, Columbia, Green and Dodge County Republican units and \$2,000 from the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee.

Representative Alvin E. O'Konski, in his long tenure in the U.S. House of Representatives, has managed to serve all the major interests of his district whether they be labor, agricultural, business, or veterans. While his independent actions do not endear him to the Republican organization, it is recognized he cannot be defeated in an open primary and in the general election he can draw sufficient Democratic support to insure his reelection in a district increasingly given to electing Democrats to other offices. In 1964, O'Konski was opposed by the young Democratic District Attorney of Eau Claire county, Edmund Nix.

When labor contributions reported in Washington, D. C. are added to the receipts reported by O'Konski committees in their reports to the Secretary of State, the O'Konski campaign shows receipts of \$27,044. O'Konski reported no contributions from the Republican county party units of his district but did receive \$1,500 from the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee. This contrasts with the \$8,407 reported to have been raised in support of Ed Nix, who did not receive any help from labor; in his losing campaign, Nix reported spending \$12,564. The difficulties faced by a Democratic candidate who does not have the support of labor are obvious even in a Democratic-oriented district. Nix would have been in even worse shape had not Louis Hanson, state Democratic chairman and 1962 nominee for Congress in the 10th district, contributed \$1,000 and the Wisconsin Democratic party \$1,200 to his campaign. Nix did receive \$1,464 from County Democratic units, \$1,300 from the 10th District Democratic party, and \$1,000 from the Democratic Congressional Campaign Com-



mittee. After the election he was appointed U. S. Attorney for the Western district of Wisconsin.

*Sixth and Ninth Districts.* Two ordinarily Republican districts were accorded greater labor interest than usual due to a variety of circumstances. These districts were the Sixth represented by Goldwater-oriented Representative William Van Pelt and the newly-created Ninth where a former Congressman, Glenn Davis, was making a comeback attempt. In both districts, the Democrats were carrying on unusually well-run campaigns that gave some promise of success if 1964 was to be a Democratic landslide. An additional factor was operative in the Sixth District where Van Pelt was narrowly renominated in a bitter primary fight that had left its impact on the Republican Party.

Labor made no endorsement in the Democratic primary in the Sixth District, but quickly endorsed the winner of the primary, John A. Race, a Fond du lac machinist. Race and committees supporting his candidacy reported receiving \$2,386 from labor resources or more than 46 percent of total campaign receipts, of which \$1,000 came from the Wisconsin Machinists, undoubtedly reflecting special support for a fellow machinist. The Wisconsin Democratic party contributed \$750 to the Race for Congress Committee and \$710 were raised by means of a testimonial dinner.

William Van Pelt reported receiving \$12,421 and spending \$14,097 with only one labor contribution, a \$500 contribution from the Seafarers Political Action Department. Here again the importance of Republican state and local party units is shown in raising funds for Republican congressional candidates. Race received \$750 from the Wisconsin Democratic party and no funds from county units in his district, but Van Pelt received \$250 from Wisconsin Republican party, and \$5,775 from county parties in his district. Race received no money from national Democratic sources but Van Pelt received \$2,400 from the Republican National Committee and \$2,000 from Republican Congressional Boosters Club. An additional interesting sidelight of the Van Pelt report is a \$4,000 loan by the candidate personally to the Citizens Committee, Van Pelt for Congress.

The Ninth District consists of the rapidly growing Waukesha county and suburban fringes of Milwaukee that have shown strong Republican tendencies. Glenn Davis, the Republican nominee, had served a large portion of this district in Congress when it was part of the old Second District and therefore was well known. Labor endorsed James Buckley in both the primary and the general elections. Buckley received \$4,801 or more than 23 percent of his campaign resources from labor. Davis received no labor support but reported

receiving \$35,995 and spending \$34,899. Of this total, \$21,911 came from the various Republican district, county, city, and ward organizations; \$4,000 from the Wisconsin Republican party; \$4,200 from Republican Congressional Campaign Committee; \$3,000 from the Wisconsin Professional Political Action Committee; \$1,000 from BIPAC; and \$900 from the Political Independents Committee, a Milwaukee area conservative political action committee. In addition, Davis was one of the candidates that PEAL supported in Milwaukee area newspapers and television advertising. Davis got a further assist from the Ninth District Public Opinion Survey, a committee that spent \$4,131 on polls and other aids to the campaign to elect a Republican representative.

*Fourth and Fifth Districts.* The two Democratic incumbents from the Fourth and Fifth congressional districts (Milwaukee County), Clement Zablocki and Henry Reuss, have pro-labor records and are consistently endorsed by labor for reelection in both primary and general elections. But as these districts are becoming increasingly safe for their incumbents, labor becomes less willing to make sizeable contributions to the reelection campaigns. The Reelect Clement J. Zablocki Committee reported receiving \$5,251 and spending \$4,755 of which \$1,350 was attributed to labor sources. The Reuss for Congress Club reported receiving \$11,518 and spending \$8,220 of which \$1,698 came from labor. Zablocki received only \$250 from the Wisconsin COPE while Reuss received \$1,098. Zablocki and Reuss each received \$750 from the Wisconsin Democratic party and \$500 from earmarked funds from the Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner. As labor-endorsed candidates they each benefited by their inclusion in Voter Guides (pamphlets listing labor endorsed candidates) published and distributed by Milwaukee labor and various registration and get-out-the vote drives sponsored by labor. Their Republican opponents faced difficulties in raising adequate funds. Estkowski running against Representative Zablocki reported receiving \$15,373 and spending \$15,299, of which \$1,050 came from Republican party and \$13,450 from Milwaukee County Republican organizations. The reports of Robert Taylor, Republican opponent of Representative Reuss, are missing from the files of Secretary of State and thus cannot be reported here.

*Remaining Districts.* The remaining three Wisconsin Congressional Districts represent heavily Republican areas where the incumbents were so well entrenched that there was no chance of defeating them. However, in all three cases, the incumbent Representatives had conservative anti-labor records that forced labor to oppose them. Labor

knew there was little chance of defeating them but also knew that labor's opposition to their records had to be registered.

The Third District (southwestern Wisconsin including La Crosse) had incumbent Vernon Thomson facing a challenge from Harold Ristow. Ristow was endorsed by COPE in both the primary and general election. He reported receiving \$10,340 and spending \$10,982, of which \$3,800 or over 36 percent came from labor sources. Thomson received no support from labor but reported receiving \$2,886 and spending \$1,974. The Seventh District (central Wisconsin including the cities of Wisconsin Rapids, Stevens Point and Wausau) is the home of Melvin Laird whose conservative record is well known. Laird was challenged by labor-endorsed Thomas Martin. Martin waged an extensive campaign against great odds and reported receiving \$7,240 (\$1,775 was a transfer counted twice) and spending \$7,514, of which \$3,795 or 52 percent of total receipts came from labor. Laird reported receiving \$34,362, with no labor support, and spending \$23,362. The Eighth District (northeastern Wisconsin including the cities of Green Bay and Appleton) is the home district of John W. Byrnes, another well known conservative leader of the House. Labor endorsed Frank Tachovsky in the Democratic primary (contributed \$500) to oppose Byrnes, but Cletus Johnson was the winner of the primary. Labor endorsed Johnson in the general election for want of anyone better to oppose Byrnes. Johnson reported receiving \$3,392 and spending \$4,963, of which \$2,392 or nearly 71 percent came from labor sources. Byrnes reported receiving \$18,728 and spending \$15,974; he received no labor support.

Melvin Laird received \$1,250 from the Republican party, \$7,245 from county Republicans organizations, \$500 from the Republican National Committee. Laird and Byrnes were the only congressional candidates (Nix received a \$1,000 contribution) to draw several large individual contributions. The large individual contributions for Laird are as follows: Daniel Teas \$3,305; W. A. Steffke \$2,000; Emily M. Miller \$500; and Henry T. Vance \$500. Byrnes received \$500 each from Leo Mero of De Pere, Wisconsin and George J. Thompson of Berkeley Heights, New Jersey. Byrnes reported receiving \$7,451 from the County Republican units in his district or more than twice the total receipts of the Democratic candidate.

It would appear that the role of the Democratic county party units in raising campaign funds for congressional candidates is minor but that the role of their Republican counterparts is highly significant. Large individual contributions in support of congressional candidates in Wisconsin in both Republican and Democratic parties are rare. It is likely that some large individual contributions destined for Repub-



lican congressional candidates are channeled through the county Republican organizations. Democratic candidates were shown to have been relatively unsuccessful in tapping sources other than labor for campaign funds. Largely because of this, labor money constituted a higher proportion of labor-endorsed congressional candidates' resources than it did of labor-endorsed statewide candidate resources.

## Other Contests

The amounts spent by labor in support of legislative candidates was not great in 1964 (\$6-7,000 by Wisconsin COPE) but indications are that they will increase in the future. 1964 was the first year the Democratic party had a special Legislative Campaign Committee, and it spent about \$9,300. Labor actively supported the favorite-son candidacy of John Reynolds in the Wisconsin presidential primary against Governor George Wallace. Labor funds accounted for \$1,736 of the total \$6,300 raised by his committee. Naturally through preparation of voter guides, registration, get-out-the vote and other drives, additional sums were spent in his behalf. Labor also was involved in the non-partisan State Supreme Court contest, by endorsing Justice Horace Wilkie for reelection, contributing \$3,600 to his campaign, and supported a "yes" vote on the Reynolds "Project 66" referendum.<sup>14</sup> Contributions of \$3,300 from labor accounted for over 10 percent of the funds in support of a "yes" vote on this referendum. The sale of a booklet on the Wisconsin state highway system accounted for \$28,201 more, or nearly 88 percent of the funds. Had it not become apparent that this measure would be defeated, it is likely that more substantial contributions would have come from labor.

## Political Expenditures

Expenditures by labor include money spent for "citizenship" and "education" programs from union dues; these attempt to influence voting behavior but are not channeled through a party or candidate committee. Information concerning these expenditures is difficult to obtain because unions are not required to file reports of these funds. Political action committees do file but the reports do not include such "educational" expenditures.

Thus labor funds can be divided into two categories: (1) "Free funds" or money raised by voluntary means; (2) Funds from union

<sup>14</sup> Project 66 was Governor Reynold's proposal to accelerate highway construction financed by highway bonds and a one cent per gallon increase in the state gasoline tax. The referendum was overwhelmingly defeated in the April 5th election.



treasuries. Federal law prohibits use of contributions from union treasuries in federal elections, Wisconsin law does not make a similar prohibition in state and local contests.

Only twelve labor committees in Wisconsin filed financial reports for 1964. Table 2 shows they reported receiving \$29,989 and disbursing \$29,997. When these are adjusted (subtracting transfers from union committees to candidate committees reported earlier) the additional amount of labor expenditures reflected by these reports is \$24,277.

The Milwaukee County Labor Council spent the largest amount of directly-expended funds. This money was spent in the following way: \$6,297 for Voter's Guides on labor-endorsed candidates in both the primary and general elections, \$14,589 for a Voter's Guide Supplement to the *Milwaukee Journal*, \$400 for wiring for the speech by President Johnson in Milwaukee and \$90 for rental of sound equipment for election day. The remaining labor organizations reported making disbursements for newspaper and radio advertising, telephone directories and phoning in registration and get-out-the-vote drives. The Wisconsin Machinists Nonpartisan Political League reported all its receipts as coming from individual contributions of less than \$5 each and all disbursed to committees supporting endorsed candidates with no money spent directly by the union.

TABLE 2  
1964 LABOR POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEES FILING  
REPORTS WITH THE WISCONSIN SECRETARY OF STATE

<i>Labor Organization</i>	<i>Receipts</i>	<i>Expenditures</i>
Committee for Political Education		
Milwaukee County Labor Council	\$20,776	\$19,376
Wisconsin Machinist Nonpartisan		
Political League	3,788	3,225
Sixth District COPE	615	615
Seventh District COPE	1,545	1,224
La Crosse AFL-CIO COPE	1,870	2,297
Greater Green Bay COPE	300	407
Waukesha Co. Labor Council	450	1,405
Fond du Lac COPE	120	120
DRIVE Local 126	None	400
Wisconsin Rapids Central		
Labor Council	None	238
Marathon County COPE	None	165
Racine AFL-CIO COPE	526	526
Total	\$29,990	\$29,998

The Wisconsin COPE did not file a report of its 1964 activity but was estimated to have spent about \$150,000.<sup>15</sup> This figure, when adjusted to reflect contributions reported by candidates, would leave approximately \$97,000 to be accounted for either by direct spending or by failure of groups receiving contributions to report. Wisconsin COPE had extensive activities for registration, getting-out-the-vote, and distribution of literature. To facilitate both the registration and get-out-the-vote campaigns, COPE set up "phone banks" in those precincts where labor-endorsed candidates had done well in previous elections. While the total number of phones and money spent is not reported, it is estimated to be approximately \$55,000 from the educational account.<sup>16</sup> The 1964 "phone bank" operation was at least as extensive as the 1962 operation which consisted of 396 phones manned by 731 workers who made 228,959 calls at a total cost of \$48,000.<sup>17</sup> The 1964 effort claims to have registered 24,000 voters with the aid of 498 workers.

During the off-year and until 90 days prior to the election, part-time volunteers are not reimbursed for helping to update lists and encourage registration. When COPE puts on a concerted drive for registration or get-out-the-vote around election time, workers are reimbursed for their time at the rate of \$1.50 per hour, for gasoline for cars used in registration or election day activities, babysitters, and often for lunch, all of which is included in the \$55,000 spent. The \$55,000 was drawn from the political education account financed by the 1 cent per capita per month dues of members of unions affiliated with COPE or by COPE's various fund-raising activities.

The assigning of a value to time spent by union officials, such as business agents, on political activity when being paid by the union is almost impossible. No monetary value can be estimated for this work, and it is not possible to tell how many hours are expended. However, such officials are urged to help out with campaign activities as their schedules permit; officials do participate depending upon many factors, including the individual, the union, the urgency felt about the election contest, and so on. There are between 300-500 union officials in Wisconsin who spend varying degrees of their time in supporting COPE's political activity.

COPE prints and helps to distribute much literature that discusses political issues and candidates. It is estimated that \$5,000 was spent to print literature in 1964.

Over and above the contributions to candidates and direct expendi-

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<sup>15</sup> Based on interview with John W. Schmitt, January 18, 1966.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

tures by labor are the costs of running COPE itself. The State Director of COPE is also Vice President of the Wisconsin State AFL-CIO and receives his entire salary of \$13,000 from the Wisconsin AFL-CIO. In addition the costs of office and field staff are met by AFL-CIO and are not drawn from either voluntary contributions or the political account.

White and Owens suggest that in Michigan three times as much money was spent on political action programs as was given in the form of contributions.<sup>18</sup> It does not appear that Wisconsin labor spends as high a proportion of its resources on political action programs. Schmitt estimates that 60 percent of labor money is contributed to candidates and about 40 percent spent directly on political action.<sup>19</sup> The figures tend to substantiate such a ratio, but it must be remembered the above totals represent only money that can be accounted for.

### Large Contributions

In Wisconsin it appears Republicans are more successful in getting large contributions (\$500 or more) than Democrats, while the Democrats are more successful than Republicans in attracting labor money. It has already been observed that there were few large individual contributions to candidates in the congressional races.

In the gubernatorial contest, there were 40 such contributions. Fifteen of these, totaling \$8,500 were reported by John Reynolds and 25, totaling \$17,000, were reported by Warren Knowles. There were 40 large contributions in the U.S. Senate race; nineteen, totaling \$14,600, went to Proxmire and twenty-one, totaling \$15,500, went to Renk. In both these cases, the Republicans enjoyed an advantage among large contributors. The Republican advantage might have been greater had not both Democrats (Reynolds and Proxmire) been incumbents. A few large contributions were recorded in other contests, such as \$3,000 by Gregory Lucey and \$1,000 by Robert F. Kennedy to Patrick Lucey in his race for the Lieutenant Governorship, but not enough others to allow analysis. One fact, standing out, is that the large contributions received by Democrats are more likely to come from individuals residing out-of-state. All large contributions recorded by Knowles and Renk were from persons residing in Wisconsin, whereas \$10,500 of the \$23,100 received in large contributions by Proxmire and Reynolds came from out-of-state.

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<sup>18</sup> White and Owens, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

<sup>19</sup> Interview with John W. Schmitt, January 18, 1966.

#### IV. SOURCES OF LABOR MONEY

A discussion of labor money would be incomplete without some comment on how unions raised funds for these expenditures.

A survey of the \$228,822 contributed by labor to party and candidate committees in Wisconsin during 1964 reveals that a disproportionate amount of this comes from a few politically-conscious CIO-type industrial unions. Such unions accounted for 38 percent of all labor contributions to party and candidate committees, as follows:

United Steelworkers	\$36,787
United Automobile Workers	\$29,008
Other Industrial Unions	\$ 9,425
	<hr/>
	\$85,220

While this would at first glance appear to be considerably less than the 54 percent that CIO unions contributed in Michigan in 1956, it does not necessarily represent less reliance upon CIO unions in Wisconsin because of the completed merger of the PAC and the LLPE into the COPE. White and Owens reported that COPE accounted for only 5.2 percent of labor contributions to party and candidate committees in Michigan in 1956.<sup>1</sup> This was necessarily low because political action of the CIO and the AFL unions had not been integrated into the joint COPE. Committee's on Political Education in Wisconsin accounted for a total of \$84,921 or 37 percent of all labor contributions in Wisconsin in 1964 to party and candidate committees. The Wisconsin State COPE accounted for \$52,360 of this amount. The remainder came from district, county and local COPE's.

There is evidence to suggest that more of COPE's funds come from CIO industrial unions than from AFL craft unions. Wisconsin COPE receives 1 cent per member per month for political purposes from each union that has voluntarily affiliated with COPE. Of the 335,000 workers in Wisconsin belonging to AFL-CIO unions, unions representing 260,000 workers are affiliated with state COPE and, thus, contribute 1 cent per member per month to COPE's political education fund which is used for direct contributions to candidates as well as direct expenditures for registration and get-out-the-vote drives. The income from these per capita dues levied on these "voluntarily" affiliated unions is approximately \$31,200 annually. The State Director

<sup>1</sup> White and Owens, *op. cit.*, p. 22.



of COPE indicates that the overwhelming majority of industrial unions are affiliated with COPE while a lesser percentage of craft unions are so affiliated.<sup>2</sup>

The craft unions which contributed significantly to the 1964 campaign in Wisconsin are as follows: Machinists \$8,350; Ladies Garment Workers \$3,700; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers \$6,100; Carpenters & Joiners \$5,200; Pipefitters \$8,000; United Paper-makers \$2,550; Hotel and Restaurant Employees \$2,100; Meatcutters \$1,450; Retail Clerks \$1,050. In contrast to the industrial and COPE funds, most craft union funds went to the Democratic party of Wisconsin rather than to specific candidates or their committees.

There are approximately 30,000 Teamsters in Wisconsin. Contributions by DRIVE and Teamsters locals reported by candidates totalled more than \$13,000.

In addition to the per capita contributions, Wisconsin COPE sponsored two fund-raising events during 1964. On April 18, a box lunch dinner featuring entertainment and political speeches was held, reportedly netting \$38,000. This money was used for contributions to endorsed candidates as well as for direct expenditures for registration and election day activities. Tickets cost \$10 and were sold to individuals and locals. Locals could purchase tickets if a majority so voted; tickets were then made available to members desiring to attend. Because they were purchasing "something of value" this was not interpreted as conflicting with the federal prohibition against union monies in federal elections.<sup>3</sup> A similar event was held at Wisconsin Rapids in September with tickets costing \$5. Instead of the profits of this dinner going into the state political education fund, the profits were returned to the congressional COPE's in proportion to the number of tickets sold in each district. The costs of the program amounted to approximately \$3 per ticket and the event showed a profit of \$7,000. At Wisconsin Rapids, there was no dinner but entertainment and a pep talk on the need for political action by Alexander Barkan of national COPE.

The third source of funds for Wisconsin COPE is money contributed by national COPE based upon needs as presented in the budget of the state director. There is no pre-arranged sharing formula for allocating money from national COPE but merely a request based upon the needs for the various campaigns being conducted in the state. *Congressional Quarterly* reports that \$25,200 was transferred from national COPE to Wisconsin COPE in 1964.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Interview with John W. Schmitt, January 18, 1966.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, (Special Report), January 21, 1966, p. 197.

The Milwaukee County Labor Council, the largest political action committee making a report with the Secretary of State, represents the 4th and 5th congressional districts. Milwaukee County Labor Council reported receipts of \$20,777 coming from the following sources: affiliation fees of local unions, \$3,270; proceeds of Harvest and Thanksgiving dance, \$8,614; contributions of local unions, \$408; contribution from State COPE, \$2,000; and transfer from political research fund, \$6,485. Several observations can be made regarding these sources of funds: (1) Affiliation fees constitute the steady income of a county labor committee. Fees are usually five cents per person per month from the affiliated locals. (2) Each county COPE tries to have at least one fund-raising event each year, and money is shared with congressional district and state COPE. The dances seem to be very successful in Milwaukee, especially when door prizes are given away. It is also possible for locals to buy blocs of such tickets so long as this does not violate the prohibition against dues monies being used for political purposes. (3) The voter guides are a general education expense and do not have to come out of voluntary funds. In the case of a newspaper supplement advertising endorsed candidates, that portion that merely informs readers of the names of endorsed candidates can be considered educational. Transfers were made from the political research fund (a fund financed by dues) to cover these types of expenditures.

Only two other congressional district COPE's filed reports, the Sixth and Seventh District COPE's. In each case, they reported two sources of funds: a fund raising dinner and shared proceeds from the Wisconsin Rapids gala.

The Machinists Nonpartisan Political League is an example of an international union with its own political action committee. The Machinists reported raising \$3,788, all from contributions of less than \$5. This money was allocated in the following manner: \$1,000 for Race (a machinist); \$300 for Stalbaum; \$500 for Kastenmeier; \$300 for Ristow; \$300 for Martin; \$300 for Johnson; \$200 for LaFollette; and \$25 for Bernard Watson. All of these candidates were running for the Congress except for LaFollette and Watson who were running for Attorney General and Member of Assembly respectively.

## V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In Wisconsin large-scale involvement of labor in politics dates back to 1947 when the liberal Democratic Organizing Committee wrested control of the Democratic party from the conservatives who had held

power. The natural ally of labor in Wisconsin politics has been the revived Democratic party, not because labor is irrevocably Democratic, but because the Republicans have with few exceptions, such as Alvin O'Konski, made no effort to satisfy labor's needs. Labor's allegiance is not considered by its leaders as unalterably tied to the Democratic party *per se* but to policies for meeting the social, economic and political issues of the day. Since 1947, labor and the Democrats have been in basic agreement on programs for meeting these issues. Through congenial beliefs, frequent interaction and Democratic dependence on labor money, the Democrats have adopted positions far closer to labor's point of view on most issues than the Republicans have.

Labor's endorsement policy provides an elaborate framework designed to safeguard the right of determination of endorsement by the rank-and-file of union membership. The actual endorsement of a candidate, however, is often routine—that is, an incumbent with a good record is almost automatically endorsed for reelection as well as the opponent, in the general election at least, of an incumbent with an anti-labor record, who will likely be endorsed if for no other reason than to show disappointment with an incumbent's record. The crucial part of the endorsement, the commitment of union money and manpower, rests upon certain additional criteria, including: (1) The importance of the office involved. Labor has consistently assigned high priority to the offices of Governor, Senator, and U.S. Representative with lower priority given to other state-wide races and state legislative contests. (2) The prospect that the candidate can be elected. However good the candidate may be, he needs to be elected to be worth the commitment of large amounts of money and effort. (3) The amount of campaign resources available to the candidate. Labor does not wish to spend money on candidates who already have or are able to raise ample funds from other sources.

Whenever labor does make contributions to a candidate, it prefers to pay for bills rather than to make a grant of money to him or his committee. By paying bills labor retains greater control over the expenditure of its money and can see that its funds are spent in ways labor political strategists feel are most useful to the campaign. An additional reason for labor's preference for paying bills rather than making contributions may be that such labor expenditures for political purposes are relatively easy to bury, thus reducing the reported amounts of labor spending.

Even though labor money in Wisconsin tends to be monopolized by the Democrats at present, labor funds cannot eliminate the disparity that exists between the resources of the two parties. Financial



reports filed with the Secretary of State, while not necessarily reflecting all campaign expenditures, indicate there are few Democratic candidates in Wisconsin as affluent as their Republican opponents. This is true whether the Democrats are incumbents or challengers, though Democratic incumbents are relatively better-off than Democratic challengers in raising campaign funds. In those races where labor is making a concerted drive (Governor, U.S. Senator, selected congressional districts), reported Democratic finances seem adequate to compete with Republicans. Without labor support, many Democratic candidates would have a very difficult, if not impossible time to carry on a campaign needed to keep Wisconsin a two-party state. In conservative Republican districts such as the Third, Seventh, and Eighth that offer little chance of Democratic victory the dependence upon labor funds, although small, is the greatest. In cases where labor endorsement and support is not forthcoming, the candidates' chances of conducting a successful campaign are lessened for it seems that even non-labor sources of contributions of Democratic candidates not endorsed by labor dry up in the absence of such endorsement. At least, this seemed to be the case with both Theodore Griswold (Secretary of State) and Eugene Lamb (State Treasurer). Labor may not endorse because the candidates' prospects of winning are not favorable; but if labor does not put money on a candidate, others may be reluctant to and a mutual reinforcement effect occurs. The fact that labor support is not automatic and that labor money constitutes such an important part of Democratic finances must certainly serve as a constant reminder to party leaders of the need not to alienate labor.

Certain comparisons can be made with the findings of the White-Owens study of Michigan in 1956. First, relatively more labor money appears to have been involved in Wisconsin in 1964 than in Michigan in 1956 but that may indicate increased political activity of labor during the last eight years, or different reporting practices. Second, labor money constituted more than twice the proportion of the resources of the Democratic party and its statewide candidates in Wisconsin (21%) in 1964 as it did in Michigan (10.3%) in 1956. Third, the pattern of distribution of labor money was different in Wisconsin. The Michigan study revealed that Michigan labor put the second largest amount of money into state legislative races whereas Wisconsin labor is only now starting to place emphasis on state legislative contests. Fourth, like Michigan, Wisconsin industrial unions were politically more active than their craft counterparts both in contributions to candidates and committees and to COPE. Fifth, White and Owens found that in Michigan labor contributed one-third of



their funds to candidates and committees and spent two-thirds of their funds on direct political expenditures. In Wisconsin, the ratio was reversed.

Several things can be said concerning the sources of labor funds. (1) Most Wisconsin campaigns seeking to raise \$1 per union member fall considerably short of their goals. (2) The largest source of labor funds is the one cent per month per person dues collected from locals which have by majority votes "voluntarily" affiliated with COPE. (3) Fund-raising events (dinners, dances, etc.) are highly successful when tickets can be purchased by local unions out of treasury funds.

There can be no doubt that political action expenditures and contributions by labor constitute an important portion of Democratic financial resources, and perform an important function in Wisconsin politics. Labor support can be given much of the credit for making a two-party system possible in Wisconsin by enabling the Democratic party to raise enough funds to conduct a reasonably effective campaign. In an imperfect society, this would seem to be a democratic good.

## APPENDIX A

### LABOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

*Democratic Party of Wisconsin:*

5-27-64	International Union, Local 180, Racine	\$ 200
10-20-64	International Union of Operating Engineers, Washington, D.C.	5,000
10-20-64	International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Washington, D.C.	2,500
10-29-64	United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Washington, D.C.	5,000
10-29-64	United Assoc. of Journeymen and Apprentice, Washington, D.C.	5,000
10-29-64	Brotherhood of Railway & Steamship Clerks, Washington, D.C.	3,200
10-29-64	Amalgamated Transit Union, Washington, D.C.	2,750
11- 2-64	United Steelworkers of America, Pittsburgh	20,000
11- 2-64	International Assoc. of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental, St. Louis, Missouri	1,000
11- 2-64	Harvey Kitzman, UAW, Milwaukee	500
11- 2-64	United Papermakers & Paper Workers, Albany, N.Y.	2,500
11-24-64	Boilermakers, Blacksmiths Pol. Ed. & Leg. Committee, Kansas City, Kansas	50
11-24-64	Hotel & Restaurant Employees & Bartenders International, Cincinnati, Ohio	2,000
11-24-64	International Union Allied Industrial Workers Milwaukee	1,890
1- -65	Harvey Kitzman, UAW, Milwaukee	250
1- -65	United Rubber Workers, Janesville	25
1- -65	United Automobile Workers Local 95, Janesville	50
1- -65	Janesville Central Labor Council 15	25
1- -65	Bartenders Local 453, Janesville	25
5-20-65	Local 248, UAW, West Allis	300
5-20-65	Region 10, UAW, AFL-CIO, Milwaukee	500
5-20-65	Wisconsin Motor, Local 283, West Allis	200
5-20-65	UAW Committee on Political Education, Detroit	200
5-20-65	UAW, CIO, Local 575, Milwaukee	200
5-20-65	Implement Workers of America, Local 72, Kenosha	500
5-20-65	Implement Workers of America, Milwaukee	1,000
5-24-65	General Drivers & Helpers Union, 622, Eau Claire	100
5-24-65	Wisconsin Farmers Union	200
5-25-65	Menasha Local 233, Sherwood	5
5-25-65	Kohler, Local 833, UAW, Sheboygan	200

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\$55,370

*Democratic Party of Dane County:*

10-20-64	United Steelworkers, Local 1404, Madison	\$ 215
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\$ 215

*Kenosha Democratic Party:*

No date	Kenosha County COPE Council (local candidates)	\$ 400
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\$ 400

## APPENDIX B

### LABOR CONTRIBUTIONS FOR GOVERNOR

#### *JOHN REYNOLDS (Democrat)*

No date	Waukesha County Reynolds for Governor Club	\$ 100
	COPE of Waukesha	
No date	UAW, AFL-CIO, Citizenship Funds (Region 10), Milwaukee	105
		<hr/> \$ 205
No date	Beloit Friends of Reynolds	\$ 100
	AFL-CIO, COPE Fund, Beloit	

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\$ 100

#### *John W. Reynolds Personal Statement:*

5-18-62	Kenosha Teachers Union, Kenosha	\$ 35
11- 5-62	Manitowoc Boilermakers Union	100

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\$ 135

#### *Friends of Reynolds Committee:*

11- 9-63	Local 180, Racine	\$ 100
11- 9-63	Agricultural Implement Workers of America, Janesville	100
11- 9-63	Painter Local Union #781, Milwaukee	50
11- 9-63	Milwaukee Teachers Union, Local 252, Milwaukee	50
11- 9-63	UAW, AFL-CIO, Milwaukee	250
11- 9-63	UAW, Region 10, Milwaukee	500
11- 9-63	UAW, Local 75, Milwaukee	500
11- 9-63	UAW, Local 575, Milwaukee	100
11- 9-63	AIW, Local 570, West Bend	50
11- 9-63	Dean Unit of Brown County	500
11- 9-63	URCLPWA, Local 19, Eau Claire	250
11- 9-63	UAW, AFL-CIO, Local 72, Milwaukee	100
11- 9-63	AIW, Local 849, Kewashum	80
11- 9-63	Allied Industrial Workers, Local 232, Milwaukee	100
11- 9-63	Allied Industrial Workers of America, 9th Regional Operational Fund, Milwaukee	320
6-15-64	Carpenters & Millwrights, Local 264, Milwaukee	50
7-24-64	Carpenters & Millwrights, Local 264, Milwaukee	50
8-21-64	International Chemical Workers Union, Akron Ohio	200
8-27-64	UAW, AFL-CIO, Citizenship Fund, Milwaukee	650
8-27-64	UAW, Local 180, Racine	25
8-27-64	United Steelworkers, Local 1327, Markison	72
8-31-64	AIW, AFL-CIO, Council #3, Hartford	25
8-31-64	Wisconsin Legislative Board of Locomotive Engineers, Delavan	25
8-31-64	International Union of Electrical COPE	250
8-25-64	Communications Workers of America, Washington, D.C.	500
9-23-64	International Brotherhood of Electrical Engineers, Washington, D.C.	1,000
9-23-64	United Auto Workers, AFL-CIO, Local 445, Waukesha	100

9-23-64	United Auto Workers, AFL-CIO, Local 575, Milwaukee	100
9-23-64	International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, 696, Marinette	200
9-23-64	United Auto Workers, #248, West Allis	200
9-23-64	Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Delavan	50
9-28-64	Amalgamated Meat Cutter & Butcher Workmen, Chicago	500
9-28-64	UAW, Region 10, Milwaukee	500
9-28-64	Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders, Blacksmiths, Forgers & Helpers, Kansas City, Kansas	500
9-28-64	United Auto Workers, Local 282, West Allis	250
9-28-64	Kohler, Local 833, UAW, Sheboygan	100
9-28-64	United Auto Workers, AFL-CIO, Region 10, Milwaukee	150
9-28-64	AIW, Local 849, Kewashum	200
9-28-64	International Ladies Garment Workers, New York	500
9-28-64	Tri-State District Council, Wausau	250
10- 1-64	Dairy Employees and Helpers Union, Teamster Local 695, Madison	100
10- 1-64	General Drivers & Helpers Union, 622, Eau Claire	100
10- 1-64	AIW, Local 150, AFL-CIO, Tomah	100
10- 2-64	United Brotherhood of Carpenters, Local 344, Waukesha	50
10- 2-64	I.A.M., Local 1377, Waukesha	50
10- 2-64	International Hod Carriers, Local 392, Waukesha	50
10- 5-64	United Auto Workers, Local 72, Kenosha	450
10- 5-64	United Auto Workers, Local 261, Milwaukee	50
10- 5-64	Building Service Employees Union, Washington, D.C.	500
10- 5-64	AIW, Local 579, West Bend	50
10- 7-64	International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Local 487, Kewaunee	300
10- 7-64	Madison Building & Construction Trades Council, Madison	500
10- 7-64	Milk Drivers & Dairy Employees Union, Local 511, Kenosha	50
10- 7-64	Drivers, Warehouse, & Dairy Employees, Local 75, Green Bay	100
10- 7- 64	Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees, Milwaukee	500
10- 7-64	Laundry & Dry Cleaning International Union, COPE Fund, Pittsburgh	150
10-13-64	United Auto Workers, Local 95, Janesville	100
10-13-64	Wis. State Legislative Committee, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, Milwaukee	100
10-14-64	United Steelworkers of America, Milwaukee	2,500
10-15-64	Pipefitters Voluntary Pol. Ed. Fund., St. Louis	2,000
10-20-64	Sheboygan County UAW Citizenship Council, Sheboygan	200
10-20-64	International Ladies Garment Workers, Local 188, Milwaukee	200



10-20-64	UAW, Milwaukee Steering Comm., Region 10, Milwaukee	500
10-20-64	United Papermakers & Paperworkers, Local 356, Milwaukee	50
10-20-64	AFSCME, Milwaukee County District Council #48, Milwaukee	50
10-20-64	Wauwatosa School Board Employees Union, Local 1561, Wauwatosa	50
10-20-64	American Federation of State, County & Municipal Employees, Local 33, Milwaukee	50
10-20-64	United Steelworkers, Local 4454, Milwaukee	100
10-23-64	Construction & General Laborers Union, Local 1539, Green Bay	8
10-26-64	Pioneer Branch #2, Nat'l. Assoc. of Lettercarriers, Washington, D.C.	100
10-26-64	Nat'l. Maritime Union Fighting Fund, N.Y.	100
10-28-64	Amalgamated Tool & Die Local 100, Brookfield	50
10-28-64	Communication Workers of America, #5503, Milwaukee	50
10-28-64	United Steelworkers, Local 1404, Madison	50
10-28-64	Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Portage	100
10-29-64	International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local 474, Milwaukee	100
10-29-64	UAW, Region 10, Milwaukee	2,500
10-29-64	AIW, Milwaukee	1,000
10-29-64	IAM, District 10, Milwaukee	1,000
10-29-64	Wisconsin Teamsters Joint Council 29, Milwaukee	500
10-29-64	Bakery Sales Drivers Union, Local 344	100
10-29-64	General Drivers & Dairy Employees, Local 563, Appleton	50
10-29-64	Midwestern States Regional Council 4, Industrial Woodworkers of America, Wausau	100
10-29-64	United Rubber Workers, Local 19, Eau Claire	250
10-30-64	International Ladies Garment Workers	500
10-30-64	Smith Steelworkers Federal Union, Milwaukee	300
10-30-64	UAW, Region 10, Milwaukee	500
10-30-64	Teamsters, Local 695, Madison	200
10-30-64	Local 75, DRIVE, Green Bay	500
11- 2-64	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	500
11- 2-64	Amalgamated Clothing Workers, New York	500
11- 2-64	Trainmen's Political Ed. League, Superior	200
11- 5-64	Seafarer's International Union, New York	5,000
11- 9-64	AIW, International Union	200
11- 9-64	AIW, 9th Regional Operational Fund, Milwaukee	550
11- 9-64	UAW, AFL-CIO, Region 10, Milwaukee	1,000

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\$34,505

**WARREN KNOWLES (Republican)**

Knowles in '64

Greater Milwaukee DRIVE, Milwaukee

\$ 1,000

\$ 1,000

## APPENDIX C

### LABOR CONTRIBUTIONS FOR UNITED STATES SENATOR

*WILLIAM PROXMIRE (Democrat)*

Citizens for Proxmire

7- 7-64	UAW Committee on Political Education, Detroit	\$ 5,000
7-30-64	DRIVE Political Fund, Milwaukee	1,000
8- 1-64	International Union AIW Workers, Milwaukee	200
8- 1-64	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	10,000
8- 1-64	S.P.A.D., Brooklyn	1,000
8-31-64	Greater Milwaukee DRIVE, Milwaukee	1,000
9- 8-64	I.B.E.W., COPE, Washington, D.C.	1,000
9-14-64	Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcherment of North America COPE, Chicago	300
9-18-64	Trainmen's Political Education League, Cleveland	300
9-18-64	I.L.G.W.U., 1964 Campaign Committee, New York	1,000
9-21-64	GBBA Political Education League, Philadelphia	200
9-22-64	W. A. Smallwood, COPE, Washington, D.C.	250
9-24-64	A.I.W. Region 9, COPE Fund, Milwaukee	100
9-28-64	Committee for Good Government, Detroit	1,000
9-29-64	Pipefitters Voluntary Political Education League, St. Louis, Mo.	1,000
9-29-64	International Chemical Workers Union, Akron	200
10- 1-64	International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers COPE Fund	250
10- 1-64	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	2,500
10- 2-64	Railway Clerks Political League COPE Fund, Cincinnati	100
10- 5-64	United Steelworkers of America COPE	5,000
10- 7-64	American Radio Association, AFL-CIO, New York	25
10-12-64	Nat'l. Association of Postmasters of United States, Washington, D.C.	100
10-12-64	Railway Labor's Political League, COPE Fund, Cleveland	150
10-13-64	Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union COPE, Denver	300
10-14-64	Railway Labor's Political League, Detroit	1,000
10-19-64	Nat'l. UIU Trades Campaign Committee, Philadelphia	100
10-19-64	I.L.G.W.U., 1964 Campaign Committee, New York	500
10-19-64	Sheetmetalworkers International Political Action League	1,000
10-20-64	W. A. Smallwood, COPE, Washington, D.C.	500
10-20-64	District 10, Machinists Non-Partisan League, Brown Deer	4,000
10-20-64	TWUA Political League, New York	500
10-21-64	UAW, Region 10, COPE Fund, Milwaukee	250
10-21-64	Amalgamated Political Education Committee, New York	1,000

10-21-64	United Steelworkers of America, Local 1404, Madison	50
10-26-64	Wis. State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	450
10-26-64	Beloit Labor Council, COPE Fund	25
10-26-64	A.I.W., Region 9, COPE Fund	100
10-27-64	IBEW, COPE, New York	1,000
10-27-64	Janesville Central Labor Council	25
10-27-64	United Furniture Workers of America, N.Y.	100
10-28-64	Hat, Cap & Millinery Workers Committee on Political Education, New York	250
10-28-64	Active Ballot Club, Washington, D.C.	1,000
10-29-64	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	500
10-30-64	Industrial Union Dept. Voluntary Funds, Washington, D.C.	1,000
10-30-64	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	1,000
2-13-65	UAW, Region 10, Milwaukee	50
2-13-65	International Union, Local 180, Milwaukee	100
2-15-65	UAW, Local 833, Kohler	200
2-15-65	UAW, Local 283, Milwaukee	200
2-16-65	UAW, Local 75, Milwaukee	250
2-16-65	United Steelworkers of America, Milwaukee	600
2-22-65	Steelworkers Legislative Fund, District 32, Milwaukee	400
5-19-65	S.P.A.D., Brooklyn	500
		<hr/>
		\$48,625
<i>Wisconsin Committee for Good Government (Proxmire)</i>		
9-12-65	Hotel & Restaurant Workers, Milwaukee	\$ 100
9-12-65	Harvey Kitzman (UAW), Milwaukee	850
9-12-65	DRIVE Political Fund, Milwaukee	1,000
9-12-65	Milwaukee Postal Clerks Union	15
9-17-65	UAW, Local 72, Kenosha	350
9-17-65	UAW, Local 180, Racine	50
9-17-65	UAW, Local 833, Sheboygan	100
9-17-65	Fred Drisen (Postal Clerks) Milwaukee	50
9-20-65	UAW, Local 121, Janesville	100
9-20-65	UAW, Local 95, Janesville	100
10- 4-65	Sheboygan Industrial Union Council	50
		<hr/>
		\$ 2,765

## APPENDIX D

### LABOR CONTRIBUTIONS FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL

#### *BRONSON LA FOLLETTE (Democrat)*

##### Citizens for La Follette

8- 4-64	Retail Store Employees, Local 44, Milwaukee	\$ 50
8-29-64	Teamsters & Chauffeurs, Local 43, Racine	25
9- 8-64	Milwaukee Building & Construction Trades Council, Milwaukee	50
9-15-64	Carpenters & Millwrights, Local 264, Milwaukee	50
9-21-64	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	1,200
9-23-64	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	994
9-25-64	AIW, Region 9, COPE Fund, Milwaukee	49
10- 9-64	Madison Building & Construction Trades Council, Madison	300
10-12-64	UAW, Region 10, Citizenship Fund, Milwaukee	500
10-13-64	United Steelworkers of America, Milwaukee	1,000
10-13-64	Sheboygan County UAW Citizenship Council	50
10-19-64	Steelworkers of America, Local 1404, Madison	50
10-26-64	UAW, Region 10, Milwaukee	250
10-28-64	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	350
10-30-64	Wisconsin Machinists Non-Partisan Political League General Fund, Madison	200
10-30-64	Bakery Sales Drivers Union, Local 344, Milwaukee	200
10-30-64	District 10, Machinists, Milwaukee	200
10-31-64	Trainmen's Political Education League, Superior	200

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\$ 5,718



## APPENDIX E

### LABOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES

#### *LYNN STALBAUM (Democrat—First Congressional District)*

##### Lynn Stalbaum Personal Statement:

No date	Racine Labor Council, Racine	\$ 250
		<hr/> \$ 250

##### Stalbaum for Congress Committee:

7-20-64	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	\$ 3,203
8-14-64	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	1,635
9-16-64	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	480
9-10-64	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	191
9-12-64	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	166
9-12-64	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	600
9-20-64	Kenosha DRIVE	200
9-20-64	Janesville DRIVE	100
10- 1-64	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	2,775
10- 1-64	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	380
10- 1-64	Amalgamated Meat Cutters, Washington, D.C.	200
10- 2-64	United Steelworkers of America, Pittsburgh	1,000
10- 6-64	Trainmen's Political Education League, Washington, D.C.	200
10- 8-64	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	1,000
10- 9-64	Communications Workers of America, Milwaukee	500
10-12-64	AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department, Washington, D.C.	500
10-15-64	Seafarer's International Union, Brooklyn	100
10-15-64	UAW, Region 10, Milwaukee	500
10-20-64	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	2,900
10-22-64	UAW, Region 10, Milwaukee	250
10-22-64	Textile Workers Union, Chicago	100
10-23-64	I.L.G.W.U., New York	250
10-30-64	UAW & AIW, Local 244	28
No date	W. A. Smallwood (COPE), Washington, D.C.	500
		<hr/> \$17,758

#### *ROBERT KASTENMEIER (Democrat—Second Congressional District)*

##### Robert Kastenmeier Personal Statement:

9-14-64	Amalgamated Meatcutters COPE, Chicago	\$ 200
10-21-64	USA Local 1404, Voluntary Fund, Madison	50
		<hr/> \$ 250

##### Keep Kastenmeier in Congress Club:

6-24-64	S.P.A.D., Brooklyn	\$ 100
7- 9-64	S.P.A.D., Brooklyn	250
9-28-64	Amalgamated Political Education Committee, New York	250
10- 5-64	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	1,495
10-14-64	United Steelworkers of America, COPE, Washington, D.C.	1,000
10-14-64	W. A. Smallwood (COPE), Washington, D.C.	500

10-28-64	I.L.G.W.U., 1964 Campaign Committee, New York	500
10-28-64	UAW, Region 10, Milwaukee	250
10-30-64	Brewery Workers COPE Fund, Local 9, Milwaukee	250
10-30-64	Allied Industrial Workers, Region 9, COPE	250
11- 2-64	Wisconsin Machinists Non-Partisan League, Madison	500
		<hr/>
		\$ 5,345
Dane County Kastenmeier Committee:		
8-10-64	Political Education Fund of Building and Construction Trades Dept.	\$ 500
No date	District 10, Machinists Non-Partisan League	500
No date	Madison Building and Construction Trades Council	100
10-12-64	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	2,248
10-15-64	Railway Clerks Political League, Cincinnati	200
10-15-64	Committee for Good Government, Detroit	500
		<hr/>
		\$ 4,048
<i>HAROLD RISTOW (Democrat—Third Congressional District)</i>		
Ristow for Congress Committee		
September	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	\$ 2,500
September	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	500
September	Committee for Good Government, Milwaukee	250
October	UAW, Region 10, COPE, Milwaukee	250
10-28-64	Machinists Non-Partisan League	300
		<hr/>
		\$ 3,800
<i>CLEMENT ZABLOCKI (Democrat—Fourth Congressional District)</i>		
7-29-64	Amalgamated Political Education Committee, New York	\$ 100
9-22-64	Communication Workers of America, Washington, D.C.	500
9-29-64	Committee for Good Government, Detroit	250
10- 5-64	United Steelworkers of America, Pittsburgh	250
No date	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	250
		<hr/>
		\$ 1,350
<i>HENRY REUSS (Democrat—Fifth Congressional District)</i>		
9-22-64	Communication Workers of America, Washington, D.C.	\$ 100
10- 1-64	Committee for Good Government, Detroit	250
10- 5-64	United Steelworkers of America, Pittsburgh	250
No date	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	1,098
		<hr/>
		\$ 1,698
<i>WILLIAM VAN PELT (Republican—Sixth Congressional District)</i>		
Citizens Committee Van Pelt for Congress		
No date	Seafarers Political Action Department	\$ 500
		<hr/>
		\$ 500

*JOHN RACE (Democrat—Sixth Congressional District)*

Citizens for Race Committee:

10-26-64	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	\$ 250
10-29-64	Sixth District COPE	100
10-29-64	DRIVE	200
10-29-64	Sixth District COPE (Harold LeShay)	100
10-30-64	Wisconsin Machinists COPE	1,000
10-30-64	DRIVE, Fond du Lac	100
11- 6-64	Sixth District, COPE	80
11- 6-64	UAW Education Fund, Milwaukee	100
		<hr/>
		\$ 1,930

Race for Congress Committee:

10-21-64	Local 849, COPE Fund, Sheboygan	\$ 206
10-21-64	UAW Education Fund, Milwaukee	250
		<hr/>
		\$ 456

*THOMAS MARTIN (Democrat—Seventh Congressional District)*

Thomas Martin for Congress:

9-28-64	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	\$ 1,500
10-21-64	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	1,000
10-24-64	Seventh District COPE	895
10-29-64	Wisconsin Machinists Non-Partisan League	300
		<hr/>
		\$ 3,695

Thomas Martin Personal Statement:

8-10-64	Greater Wausau Area DRIVE Committee	\$ 100
		<hr/>
		\$ 100

*CLETUS JOHNSON (Democrat—Eighth Congressional District)*

Johnson for Congress Club:

10-23-64	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	\$ 2,092
11- 2-64	Wisconsin Council of Machinists, Madison	300
		<hr/>
		\$ 2,392

*FRANK TACHOWSKY (Democrat—Eighth Congressional District)*

Tachowsky for Congress Club:

No date	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	\$ 500
		<hr/>
		\$ 500

*JAMES BUCKLEY (Democrat—Ninth Congressional District)*

Milwaukee County Buckley for Congress Club:

9-21-64	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	\$ 1,101
10-24-64	UAW, Region 10, Milwaukee	750
10-24-64	Amalgamated Meatcutters, COPE, Chicago	250
10-24-64	District 10, Machinists	500
10-25-64	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Waukesha	50
10- 4-64	United Steelworkers, Pittsburgh	1,000
10- 7-64	Committee on Good Government, Detroit	250
10-7-64	Seafarers International Union, Brooklyn	100
		<hr/>
		\$ 4,001

Buckley for Congress:

10-19-64	I.L.G.W.U. 1964 Campaign Committee, New York	\$ 250
10-26-64	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE Fund, Milwaukee	250
10-26-64	Wisconsin Machinists Non-Partisan Political League, Madison	300

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\$ 800

*ALVIN O'KONSKI (Republican—Third Congressional District)*

Veterans Committee and Democrats, Republicans, Independents and

Progressive Citizens for O'Konski:

6-10-64	Trainmen's Political Education League, Cleveland	\$ 350*
7-22-64	DRIVE	1,000*
8- 6-64	DRIVE	3,000*
9-26-64	International Union of Electrical Workers Education Committee, Washington	250
9-26-64	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	1,500
9-26-64	Railroad Brotherhoods Education Committee, Washington, D.C.	850
9-26-64	Communication Workers of America	250
9-26-64	National AFL-CIO, COPE, Washington, D.C.	2,000
9-28-64	DRIVE	3,000*
10-10-64	National AFL-CIO, COPE, Washington, D.C.	1,000
10-23-64	UAW, Milwaukee	250
10-28-64	Machinists Union, Milwaukee	500

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\$13,950



## APPENDIX F

### LABOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO WISCONSIN PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

*JOHN REYNOLDS (Democrat—Presidential Primary)*

Johnson for President Committee (Reynolds Primary):

No date	United Steelworkers (PAC), Washington, D.C.	\$ 250
4- 5-64	United Steelworkers (PAC), Washington, D.C.	100
4- 5-64	Milwaukee Labor Council	100
4-12-64	UAW, Region 10, (Harvey Kitzman)	100
4-15-64	District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, New York	1,000
No date	Greater Green Bay COPE	186

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\$ 1,736

*LYNDON B. JOHNSON (Democrat—President of the United States)*

Wisconsin Committee for Johnson:

No date	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	\$ 500
No date	UAW, Region 10, Milwaukee	500
No date	COPE, Milwaukee	250

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\$ 1,250

## APPENDIX G

### OTHER LABOR CONTRIBUTIONS

*PATRICK LUCEY (Democrat—Lt. Governor)*

Pat Lucey for Lt. Governor Club:

No date	Marinette & Menomonee Labor Council	\$ 25
No date	UAW, Region 10, Citizenship Fund, Milwaukee	500
		<hr/> \$ 525

Lucey for Lt. Governor Personal Campaign Committee:

11- 2-64	United Steelworkers of America, Madison	\$ 50
		<hr/> \$ 50

*FLOYD LUCIA (Democrat—State Treasurer)*

Floyd Lucia Personal Statement:

No date	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	\$ 500
		<hr/> \$ 500

*HORACE WILKIE (Non-Partisan Candidate for State Supreme Court)*

Citizens for Justice Wilkie:

4- 9-64	United Steelworkers of America, Washington, D.C.	\$ 1,500
4- 9-64	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	2,000
	Kenosha AFL-CIO	100
		<hr/> \$ 3,600

*Vote yes on Highway Referendum*

	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	\$ 3,300
		<hr/> \$ 3,300

State Legislative Candidates\*\*

	Wisconsin State AFL-CIO, COPE, Milwaukee	\$6-7,000
		<hr/> \$ 6-7,000

1964 TOTAL	<hr/> \$228,822
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\*Reported with the Clerk of U.S. House of Representatives  
but not with Secretary of State of Wisconsin.

\*\*Estimate by John W. Schmitt, Director of State COPE.



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Secretary

JEPHTHA H. WADE  
Attorney, Choate, Hall & Stewart  
Boston, Massachusetts

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